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THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

To which is annexed,

A DISCOURSE UPON THE THEOLOGY and MYTHOLOGY Of the PAGANS.

By the Chevalier RAMSAY.

The SEVENTH EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed by *James Bettenham:*
And sold by C. HITCH, at the *Red Lion* in *Paternoster Row.*

M.DCC.XLV.

Utopia
Tr. R.
R178TA

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

Lord LANSDOWN.

MY LORD,

THE moſt amiable virtues and the brighteſt talents formed the character of that HERO, whoſe travels I relate: And to whom could I offer a picture of ſo fine a genius and ſo generous a mind but to a perſon of YOUR LORDSHIP's taſte?

The ſingular friendſhip with which YOUR LORDSHIP honours me gave riſe to this undertaking; and my obliga-

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tions are of ſuch a nature, that to let paſs the preſent opportunity of acknowledging them, would be the higheſt injuſtice, as well as ingratitude. Accept this mark of the inviolable attachment and profound reſpect of,

My LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP's moſt obliged,

Moſt obedient, and

Moſt humble ſervant,

Andrew Ramſay.

PREFACE.

EVER ſince the firſt edition of THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS, the Author has liſtened with reſpect and deference to the judgment of the Public; and as ſeveral ſpecious objections have been made to the work, and many real faults diſcovered in it, his deſign in this Preface is to give the beſt anſwer he can to the one, and to acquaint the reader with what he has done to correct the other.

The moſt general defect in the former editions is the inaction of Cyrus, who through the whole courſe of his travels has too much of the indolent Philoſopher, and too little of the Hero, who was one day to be the conqueror of Aſia. The nature of this work not requiring the action of an epic poem, this fault might have been excuſed; the Author has nevertheleſs ſubmitted to the judgment of the Public, and has made Cyrus act in the ſeveral countries thro' which he paſſes; and this without departing from the character of a young Hero upon his travels, or ſhocking the reader with tales and fictions that have no foundation in antiquity. Beſides this general defect there are others peculiar to each book.

In the firſt, the narration is too haſty and conciſe: The reader feels a tender concern for Caſſandana, loves her and fears to loſe her; nevertheleſs ſhe diſappears on a ſudden, and this epiſode concludes too abruptly. It has been likewiſe ob-

ſerved, that there is no relation between the virtuous love of Cyrus for Caſſandana, and the criminal paſſion of Stryangeus for Zarina. Nor is this all, Cambyſes and Mandana conſent to their ſon's marriage contrary to all the rules of good policy. The Author hopes he has corrected theſe faults, by the Additions made to the firſt book, where he gives a view of the political ſtate of Aſia in Cyrus's time.

In the ſecond book the Author had not aſſigned a proper motive for Cyrus's journey to ſee Zoroaſter; the occaſion of it at preſent is this. The Prince of Perſia begins to entertain a contempt for Religion, and in order to guard him againſt this danger, Hyſtaſpes, his governor, engages him to make a viſit to the Magi. The repreſentation which Zoroaſter makes of the wonders of nature, and the amiable ideas he gives him of the Divinity, ſatisfy his doubts, and ſettle his mind; and while he is thus inſtructed by philoſophical reaſonings, which could not be ſuppoſed very agreeable to a young Princeſs accuſtomed to the gayeties and diverſions of the court of Ecbatan, the Author to amuſe Caſſandana has introduced the wives of the Magi celebrating the feſtival of the Goddeſs Mythra; this deſcription relaxes the mind, ſerves for an introduction to the Theology of the Perſians, and makes a proper diviſion of Zoroaſter's diſcourſe upon natural philoſophy and religion.

The third book was all narration, there was no action; the epiſode of Amenophis was thought intereſting enough, but Cyrus ſeemed to be forgotten, and was remembred only by reflection. The

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Author has found means to make this Prince present at the revolutions of Egypt, without becoming a prisoner with Apries, or countenancing the usurpation of Amasis, displaying occasionally his military virtues and heroic sentiments.

In the fourth and fifth books the Spartans and Athenians were put to a great expence of men and ships only to amuse Cyrus. Virgil kills and maims some of the Athletæ in the games in order to give a lustre to his heroes, but the Author had exceeded the liberty taken by the Latin poet. To correct this fault he has related in his fourth book the war between the Lacædemonians and Tegeans, mentioned by Herodotus, and which happened precisely at the time when Cyrus is supposed to be at Sparta. This episode has given the Author occasion to unfold, in a more extensive manner, the political state of Sparta, and the different opinions of Polybius and Plutarch concerning the designs of Lycurgus in his laws and institutions of government. In the fifth book a sea fight is supposed between Megacles and Pisistratus, when the Persian Prince went into Attica.

In the sixth book Pythagoras shewed clearly that thought could not be a property of matter; but it was necessary some pages should be added to evince that we have no reason to believe that extension and thought are properties of the same substance; and that the system of Spinoza, (who is meant by Anaximander) is a series of loose suppositions without any demonstration.

The Author has made a considerable addition to the seventh book with regard to the religion of the

Tyrians and the death of Adonis. He thought he might take advantage of this beautiful part of Mythology to explain the ancient tradition common to almoſt all nations concerning a middle God, who was to expiate and deſtroy moral evil by his own great ſufferings. As the Phœnicians lived near Judea, they might poſſibly have clearer ideas of religion than other nations, and this bare poſſibility may perhaps juſtify that new epiſode. However it would be unreaſonable to expect that what is put in the mouth of each Philoſopher relating to the religion of his own country ſhould be found word for word in the ancients. The Author of Cyrus has only wrought into a connected ſyſtem the moſt beatiful hints of antiquity, in order to unfold the great principles of religion, and ſhew that all nations had from the beginning ſome idea of thoſe principles more or leſs confuſed.

In the laſt book, ſeveral important reflections are added, to give more accuracy to the reaſonings of Eleazar, and more ſtrength to the diſcourſe of Daniel: The latter proves the ſupernatural eſtabliſhment of religion by the only proper method for it, that is to ſay, by a relation of facts; but his diſcourſe at preſent contains ſeveral corroborative hints, to ſhew that theſe facts are inconteſtible. And laſtly, he refers Cyrus to the accompliſhment of the prophecies in his own perſon, as an invincible proof of all the truths he has told him.

The Author has made ſeveral additions to his diſcourſe on the ancient Mythology, in order to ſhew, that as all the fictions of the Pagans ſuppoſe

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the reality of the three ſtates of the world, ſo all the Pagan Divinities may be reduced to one ſupreme God, the principle of all beings, a Goddeſs his wife, ſiſter, or daughter, and a middle God who is his ſon, his repreſentative or vicegerent. Beſides theſe additions, which are the moſt important, there are many others leſs conſiderable, which the Author thought neceſſary, to render the tranſitions more eaſy and natural, the narration more connected, the principles more palpable, and the reaſonings more concluſive. This is what the Author has done, to correct the real faults in the former editions of his work. The objections, to which he thinks he can give a ſolid anſwer, without changing any thing in his plan, are as follow.

I. To begin with the leaſt important of them, it has been objected, that the Author is a plagiary, and that he has in ſeveral places tranſcribed whole pages from the Biſhop of Meaux's univerſal hiſtory, M. de Tourreil's hiſtorical preface, Dr. Cudworth's intellectual ſyſtem, and the life of Hay-Ebn-Yokdan, tranſlated from the Arabic.

Theſe pretended thefts impoſed at firſt upon thoſe who were not in a condition to conſult the originals; but upon a ſtrict examination, the injuſtice and ignorance of the Critics appeared. The third book which treats of ancient Egypt contains ſeveral remarks, of which there is not the leaſt trace in the Biſhop of Meaux's univerſal hiſtory. The Author has indeed in ſome places followed the tranſlation made by that Prelate of certain paſſages in Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus and

Strabo: But is a man a plagiary becauſe in his citations from the ancients he chuſes rather to follow a good tranſlation than a bad one? So in comparing M. de Tourreil's preface with the fourth and fifth books of his work, the reader will find nothing common to them, except certain paſſages purely hiſtorical. The life of Hay Ebn-Yokdan, tranſlated from the Arabic into Latin by Dr. *Pocock*, has no reſemblance with the Author's hiſtory of Hermes the ſecond, unleſs it be the general idea of a ſavage brought up in a deſert; there is not the leaſt likeneſs either in the matter or in the method of the reaſoning. The Arabian Philoſopher begins with very refined diſquiſitions in anatomy, paſſes thence to metaphyſical diſcuſſions, and concludes with the dreams of the Mahometan contemplatives. All the Author's reaſonings are, on the contrary, ſo managed, that they do not exceed the capacity of a common good underſtanding, who has no other inſtructor than nature: He has endeavoured ſo to introduce his ideas as not to tranſgreſs the bounds of probability, to range each truth in it's proper place, to mix ſpeculation with ſentiment, and to raiſe the ſoul by eaſy and natural gradations to the knowledge and love of the firſt Being. Laſtly, as to Dr. Cudworth, notwithſtanding his miſtakes and want of method, he had penetrated farther into the myſteries of antiquity than the moſt part of Critics; nevertheleſs this learned man ſays nothing of the three ſtates of the world, which are the foundation of all that the Author of Cyrus advances upon religion. Far from being a plagiary he had not

conſulted enough the Doctor's excellent remarks concerning the three forms of the Divinity; he has made more uſe of them in this edition, but has always quoted him or the originals.

II. It is thought that the epiſodes, in which the Author ſpeaks of love, are related with too much rapidity, ſo that the reader has not time enough to be touched, moved and tranſported.

To this it may be anſwered, that thoſe ſtories are related by perſons who ought not to launch out into love ſpeeches, tender ſentiments and ſprightly images. The ancients are very ſparing in words when the ſituation and circumſtances ſpeak ſufficiently of themſelves. When Homer is to paint the charms of Helen, he does it by a ſingle ſtroke; ſhe goes into the council of the old men, they fix their eyes upon her, are diſcompoſed and ſuſpend their deliberations. When Virgil makes Dido ſpeak, her words are few, but each word is a ſentiment: The tender paſſions loſe their force and their delicacy when they become too eloquent. Beſides, all the Author's fictions, where love is the object, are in the two firſt books, and tend to preſerve Cyrus from the follies of youth, by ſhewing him, not ſo much the ſweets of love, as the bitter effects of it: As ſoon as he attains to a riper age, Caſſandana dies and the hero begins his travels. Thus hiſtory ſimply relates facts as they happen, without endeavouring after the intrigues, ſpeeches and ſurpriſing adventures of romance.

III. Some object that the travels of Cyrus are not well imagined, and that any other hero would have suited better with the Author's project than the conqueror of Asia.

Conquerors have generally no other view in extending their dominion, than to satisfy their unbounded ambition: Cyrus on the contrary made use of his victories to procure the happiness of the conquered nations. The Author's intention in making choice of such a Prince was to shew, that courage, great exploits and military talents may indeed excite our admiration, but do not form the character of a true hero, without the addition of wisdom, virtue and noble sentiments. In order to form such a hero, it was thought allowable to make him travel; and the silence of Xenophon, who says nothing in his Cyropædia of what happened to Cyrus from his sixteenth to his fortieth year, leaves the Author at liberty to imagine this fiction. The relation of the Prince's travels furnishes an occasion to describe the religion, manners and politics of the several countries through which he passes. These travels cannot surely appear unnatural; a prudent Prince like Cambyses, a father who is supposed to be informed of the oracles concerning the future greatness of his son, a tributary King who knows the danger of sending the young Prince a second time to the court of Ecbatan, ought to be sensible that Cyrus at twenty five years of age could not better employ his time during the interval of a profound peace, than by travelling into Egypt and Greece. It was necessary to prepare a Prince who was to be one

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day the founder and law-giver of a mighty empire, to accompliſh his high deſtiny by acquiring in each country ſome knowledge worthy of his great genius. Is there any thing ſtrained in all this? No other hero could anſwer the Author's intention; had he made any other Prince travel, he would have loſt all the advantages he has drawn from the choice of Cyrus, as the deliverer of the people of God, as contemporary with the great men with whom he conſults, and as living in an age, the learning, manners and events of which could alone be ſuitable to the deſign of this work.

IV. Thoſe who make no diſtinction between the plan of Telemachus and that of Cyrus, continually cry out, that there is no unity of action in the latter.

Nothing is more unreaſonable than to compare two works of ſuch different natures; inſtruction is indeed the aim of both, but they are not formed upon the ſame originals; the Author of Telemachus writes a continuation of an epic poem; the Author of Cyrus fills up the chaſm in a philoſophical hiſtory; the one has imitated Homer with ſucceſs, the other has taken Xenophon for his model. M. de Cambray ſtrews every where the richeſt flowers of poeſy; he paints nature in all her variety, and the objects themſelves become viſible, he deſcribes all the motions of the heart of man, and makes us feel them ſucceſſively; he renders the moſt ſublime truths palpable, and never fatigues the mind with abſtracted ideas; he paſſes from beautiful images to noble ſentiments,

and finds a ſhorter way to the heart than by reaſoning; he walks, he flies, he ſighs, he thunders, he mourns, he rejoices, he aſſumes all forms by turns, and never fails to transform us with him.

The Author's utmoſt ambition was to unfold the principles of his maſter, without daring to attempt an imitation of his graces; he choſe a ſubject more proportioned to his capacity, a work in which he was to compare the philoſophical ideas of others rather than exert a poetic invention; he did not pretend to write an epic poem: In this kind of fiction the hero ſhould never diſappear; it is he whom we liſten to, it is he only whom we love; the Poet grows tireſom when he perſonates too much the Philoſopher: He is to inſtruct only by hints, and not by long and elaborate diſcuſſions. The obſervation of theſe rules was incompatible with the Author's views; his deſign was to ſhew the gradual progreſs of the mind in the ſearch of truth, to compare the religions, governments and laws of different nations, and to form the legiſlator, rather than the conqueror; unity of action is by no means neceſſary in a work of this nature, it is ſufficient if there be unity of deſign. All the Author's epiſodes tend to inſtruction, and the inſtructions are, as he apprehends, proportioned to the age of Cyrus: In his youth he is in danger of being corrupted by vanity, love and irreligion; Mandana, Hyſtaſpes and Zoroaſter preſerve him from theſe ſnares. The hiſtory of Apries lays open to him all the artifices of a perfidious courtier; that of the Kings of

of Sparta, the dangers of an exceſſive confidence in favourites, or of an unjuſt diffidence of miniſters; that of Periander, the fatal miſchiefs which attend deſpotic power and the diſpenſing with ancient laws; that of Piſiſtratus, the puniſhment of a baſe, falſe and crafty policy, and that of Nabuchodonoſor, the dreadful conſequences of relapſing into impiety, after due light and admonition. The Prince is at firſt inſtructed by fables, to preſerve him from the paſſions of youth; he afterwards inſtructs himſelf by his own reflections, by the examples he ſees, and by all the adventures he meets with in his travels; he goes from country to country, collecting all the treaſures of wiſdom, converſing with the great men he finds there, and performing heroic exploits as occaſion preſents.

V. Some perſons, to diſcredit the Author's work, have inſinuated that far from doing homage to religion he degrades it.

He ſhould think himſelf very unhappy to have produced a work ſo contrary to his intentions. All that he advances upon religion may be reduced to two principal points: The firſt is to prove againſt the Atheiſts the exiſtence of a ſupreme Deity, who produced the world by his power, and governs it by his wiſdom. To this end Zoroaſter unveils to us all the wonders of nature, Hermes conſults the native and genuine tendency of the heart, and Pythagoras aſcends to firſt principles: And thus the Author endeavours to unite the ſtrength of all, that ſenſe, natural ſentiment, and reaſon can afford us for the

the proof of the firſt and moſt important of all truths. Tradition ſtrikes in with philoſophy: The Author has endeavoured to ſhew that the earlieſt opinions of the moſt knowing and civilized nations come nearer the truth than thoſe of latter ages; that the Theology of the Orientals is more pure than that of the Egyptians, that of the Egyptians leſs corrupted than that of the Greeks, and that of the Greeks more exalted than that of the Romans; that the primitive ſyſtem of the world was that of one ſupreme Deity; that in order to adapt this idea to the capacity of the vulgar, the divine attributes were repreſented by allegories and hieroglyphics; that mankind ſinking into matter quickly forgot the meaning of thoſe ſacred ſymbols, and fell into idolatry; that idolatry brought forth irreligion; that raſh and inconſiderate minds not being able to diſtinguiſh between principles and the abuſes of them ran from one exceſs to another. Such have been the variations of the human mind, with regard to the Deity in almoſt all times and all countries. The Author's intention throughout his whole ſyſtem was to ſhew the wild extravagance of thoſe who maintain that the doctrines of religion are only the effects of the ignorance and ſtupidity of the infant world; that the firſt men not knowing the phyſical cauſes, had recourſe to inviſible powers to explain the phænomena of nature; and laſtly, that politicians refined and improved theſe indigeſted ideas, in order to compoſe a ſyſtem of religion uſeful and neceſſary to ſociety.

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The second point is to shew, in opposition to the Deists, that the principal doctrines of revealed religion, concerning the states of innocence, corruption and renovation, are as ancient as the world; that they were the foundations of Noah's religion; that he transmitted them to his children; that these traditions were thus spread throughout all nations; that the Pagans disfigured, degraded, and obscured them by their absurd fictions; and lastly, that these primitive truths have been no where preserved in their purity except in the true religion. When we see divers nations agree concerning the beginning, the decline and the re-establishment of a monarchy, the birth, exploits and virtues of the hero who is the restorer of it, is not this a sufficient proof of these principal facts, though the circumstances should be related differently and be even fabulous? The Author in unfolding the ancient traditions has distinguished between fable and truth, philosophical hypotheses and doctrines of faith, essence and form, the spirit and the letter which ought never to be separated, but which cannot be confounded without disguising and dishonouring Christianity: He hoped thereby to have given a plan of religion, equally amiable and reasonable, and to have shewn that it's principles are beautiful, it's consequences natural, and it's original ancient; that it enlightens the mind, comforts the heart and establishes the welfare of society.

VI. Those who degrade the Wisdom and Goodness of God, under pretence of extolling his Power and Justice, have thought that Eleazar's discourse

courſe too plainly favoured the opinions of Origen concerning the pre-exiſtence of ſouls and the reſtitution of all ſpirits. One may venture to ſay, that whoever makes this objection does not underſtand the plan of the work; it is as follows: Each Philoſopher ſpeaks to Cyrus the language of his own religion and country. The Orientals, Egyptians, Greeks and Tyrians all agree in the original purity, preſent corruption and future reſtoration of mankind, but they wrap up theſe truths in different fables, each according to the genius of their nation Eleazar clears their ſyſtem from the pagan fictions, but retains in his own the opinions of his ſect. The errors which prevail at this day reſemble thoſe of former times. The mind of man ſees but a ſmall number of ideas, reviews them continually, and thinks them new only becauſe it expreſſes them differently in different ages: The Magi in Cyrus's time were fallen into a kind of Atheiſm like that of Spinoza; Zoroaſter, Hermes and Phythagoras adored one ſole Deity, but they were Deiſts; Eleazar reſembled the Socinians, who are for ſubjecting Religion to Philoſophy; Daniel repreſents a perfect Chriſtian, and the Hero of this book a young Prince who began to be corrupted by the maxims of irreligion. In order to ſet him right, the different Philoſophers with whom he converſes ſucceſſively unfold to him new truths mixt with errors. Zoroaſter confutes the miſtakes of the Magi; Pythagoras thoſe of Zoroaſter; Eleazar thoſe of Pythagoras; Daniel rejects thoſe of all the others, and his doctrine is the only one which the Author adopts. The order of theſe

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converſations ſhews the progreſs of the mind, the matter being ſo diſpoſed, that the Atheiſt becomes Deiſt, the Deiſt Socinian, and the Socinian Chriſtian, by a plain and natural chain of ideas. The great art in inſtructing is to lead the mind gradually on, and to take advantage even of it's errors to make it reliſh truth. That Cyrus might thus be conducted ſtep by ſtep, it was neceſſary to introduce a perſon of the religion of the Hebrews, who ſhou'd confute by reaſon all the objections drawn from reaſon. Daniel could not act this part: It would not have become him to ſolve difficulties by uncertain conjectures; the Philoſopher might prepare the Prince by bare hypotheſes, to ſubmit and to diſtruſt his underſtanding: But it was neceſſary that the Prophet ſhould diſengage Cyrus from all bold ſpeculations, how refined and bright ſoever they might appear, and lead him to the belief of a ſupernatural religion, not by a philoſophical demonſtration of it's doctrines, but by proving them to be divinely revealed. In a word, he ſhould fix the mind of the young Hero by indiſputable facts, which ſtrike much more forcibly than abſtract ideas. And it is for this reaſon that the Author introduces in his laſt book two perſons of very different characters, a Philoſopher and a Prophet; the one employs the powers of reaſon againſt incredulity, the other impoſes ſilence on all reaſonings by a ſupernatural authority. This is the only uſe which the Author would make of the opinions of Origen; they anſwer the objections of the incredulous concerning the beginning and duration of evil; they ſhew, that ſince the weak

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reaſon of the Philoſophers can find a plauſible ſolution of thoſe great difficulties, we may well conclude that the infinite Wiſdom will be able one day to juſtify his ways, which are now impenetrable. So long as it is allowable to philoſophiſe, the Author expoſes the moſt probable ſyſtems and hypotheſes; but when the queſtion is of faith, he reaſons only upon palpable facts, in order to diſcover whether God has ſpoken to his creatures or not: The moment we were convinced of this, all doubtful opinions are loſt and abſorbed in the depths of the divine incomprehenſibility.

VII. Thoſe who thought the sketches of natural philoſophy in this work miſplaced, pretending that the ancients are repreſented more knowing than they really were, will be much more ſhocked to ſee thoſe philoſophical deſcriptions augmented in the preſent edition. It is not ſurpriſing to hear this objection made by empty, ſuperficial minds, who laugh at the Moſaic hiſtory, while they adopt the Greek fables concerning the origin of mankind; but it is aſtoniſhing to hear the ſame cavils from thoſe who reverence revealed religion, who do not believe that man was created originally wild and ſavage, that he wandred in the woods and deſerts without knowledge, religion or law, and who have philoſophy enough to diſcern that the world could not come out of the hands of a wiſe, good and powerful Creator in it's preſent ignorance, diſorder and corruption. Theſe perſons might eaſily be perſuaded that the firſt men had know-

knowledges of God and nature, which are loſt in theſe latter ages; that the ſacred writers did not talk at random when they extolled the profound learning of the Orientals and Egyptians, even in the time of Moſes; and laſtly, that (*a*) Joſephus was not a viſionary when he ſaid that the Pagans of his time had an ancient tradition, that Abraham who was famous in Aſia communicated many ſublime diſcoveries in natural philoſophy to the Chaldeans and Egyptians. The Author however has no need of theſe pretexts to juſtify the philoſophical deſcriptions in this work. His aim being to ſet before the eyes of a young Prince thoſe elements of ſcience which might help to form his underſtanding and his heart, he thought thoſe phyſical pictures more proper than poetical paintings to give his pupil a general idea of nature, inſpire him with a taſte of philoſophy, and awaken his deſire of knowledge. In purſuing this deſign he has taken the liberty to depart from ſtrict truth, content himſelf with probability, and make anachroniſms in natural as well as civil hiſtory.

VIII. Some pretend that the Author has but lightly touched a great many ſubjects, without going to the bottom of every one; that this book is rather a ſummary than a work; that he ſteps too quick from one ſubject to another; and that his ſtile is every where too laconic, ſometimes too metaphyſical and abſtruſe, and often too void of ornament.

(*a*) See Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. Beras ibid. & Voſſ. de Phil. ſect. cap. 1. p. 3.

To

To this it may be anſwered, that profound reaſoning does not conſiſt in a multiplicity of words; It is perhaps eaſier to write a great volume than a little one; the labour is not the leſs real becauſe it is concealed. It was intended that each intelligent reader ſhould have the pleaſure of drawing the conſequences from the principles, unfolding thoſe firſt ſeeds of truth, cultivating them and gathering thence a harveſt of knowledge, of which the Author himſelf had perhaps no idea. We have a ſufficient number of books which convey inſtruction by diffuſive reaſonings, ingenious aphoriſms and florid illuſtrations. The Author's deſign was to habituate the mind of a young Prince to judge by principles, diſcover the connexion of eſſential truths and unite them under one view. He ſays to him upon each ſubject what is neceſſary to ſhew, that all nations had originally the ſame fundamental principles, that the duties of religion, morality and good policy flow from the ſame ſource, conſpire to the ſame end, and mutually ſupport and fortify each other; and in a word, that all the civil and human virtues, the laws of nature and nations are, ſo to ſpeak, but conſequences of THE LOVE OF ORDER, which is the eternal and univerſal law of all intelligences. In a work of this nature, it is neceſſary to unbend the mind of the reader, without carrying it off from it's principal object; all the flowers ſhould be thoughts, the graces noble and tender ſentiments, the paintings characters, and the deſcriptions ſuch pictures as make us acquainted with nature, and admire the Creator. The Author is ſenſible that

he is far from having executed this vaſt deſign, but in the attempt he has made towards it he was obliged to avoid all foreign embelliſhments, laboured connexions, and the ambitious ornaments of the Greek and Latin poeſy.

To ſpeak more clearly: Poeſy has had the ſame fate with Philoſophy. The Orientals, the Chaldeans, and above all the Hebrews painted nature without diſguiſing it, and gave life to every thing without deifying it. According to them every thing proceeds from God, and ought to flow back to him again. All the viſible wonders of nature are faint images of his greatneſs, and the innumerable orders of ſpirits emanations from his wiſdom. Mankind are all but one family of that immenſe republic of intelligences of which God is the common Father. Each man is as a ray of light ſeparated from it's ſource, ſtrayed into a corner of diſordered nature, toſſed about by the tumultuous wind of paſſion, tranſported from climate to climate by reſtleſs deſires, purified by all the misfortunes it meets with, till it becomes like a ſubtile vapour reaſcending to the ſuperior regions from whence it fell. We have here a fruitful ſource of luminous ideas, beautiful images and ſublime expreſſions, ſuch as we find in the holy ſcripture, and in Milton who has copied them. The Egyptians corporalized too much theſe ideas by their ſenſible ſymbols; but the Greek Poets, and their imitators the Roman Poets, entirely mangled and degraded them. The Divinity is no longer a ſovereign wiſdom but a blind deſtiny, man is but a maſs of atoms of which nothing remains

mains after death but an empty ſhade, immortality is a dream, the Elyſian fields a mere ſubterraneous cavern, and the habitation of the Gods a mountain of Greece: By this means a dark veil is drawn over the whole univerſe, the ſource of noble ideas is dry'd up, and reaſon becomes a barren field: The imagination deſtitute of principles ſeeks to ſupply it's indigence by creating a new world; it transforms all objects in order to imbelliſh them, it exalts men into Gods, and debaſes Gods into men, it gives body to ſpirits and ſpirit to bodies; it's deſcriptions are florid but falſe, and it's *marvellous* degrades the divine Nature; the agreeable and the gay take the place of the true ſublime, and of that diviner poetry, which firſt leads man into his own heart, and then raiſes him above himſelf. Such is the Greek poeſy, always poor in the midſt of it's ſeeming abundance: Had the Author been able to imitate it, it is what he ought to have avoided, as improper in a book of principles.

It is not pretended by all that has been ſaid, that this work, as now given to the public, is free from faults; there will no doubt always remain a great number; nor would the Author have troubled the reader with theſe reflections but to juſtify his main deſign and explain more fully the plan of his book.

THE

THE

TRAVELS

OF

CYRUS.

FIRST BOOK.

THE Assyrian empire having been for many ages extended over all Asia, was at length dismembred, upon the death of Sardanapalus (a). Arbaces governor of Media entered into a league with Belesis governor of Babylon, to dethrone that effeminate Monarch: They besieged him in his capital, where the unfortunate Emperor, to avoid being made a prisoner, and to hinder his enemies from becoming masters of his immense riches, set fire to his palace, threw himself into the flames, and perished with all his treasures. Ninus the true heir succeeded him in the throne, and reigned at Nineveh; but Arbaces took possession of Media, with all it's dependencies, and Belesis of Chaldea, with the neighbouring territories (b). And thus was

(a) *Diod. Sic. lib.* 2. *Athen. lib.* 12. *Herod. lib.* 1. *Just. lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

(b) *This happened many years before the foundation of Rome, and the institution of the Olympiads. It was in the time of Apsephron, 9th perpetual Archon of Athens, and almost* 900 *years before the Christian Æra.*

the ancient empire of the Aſſyrians divided into three monarchies, the capitals of which were Ecbatana, Babylon and Nineveh. It was not long before the laſt became a prey to the ambitious ſucceſſors of Beleſis; nor did thoſe of Arbaces fail to puſh their conqueſts; they brought ſeveral of the neighbouring nations under tribute, and particularly Perſia: So that the Kings of Media and Babylon became the two great potentates of the Eaſt. Such was the ſtate of Aſia when Cyrus was born: His father Cambyſes was King of Perſia, Mandana his mother was daughter of Aſtyages King of the Medes.

He was educated from his tender years after the manner of ancient Perſia, where the youth were inured to hardſhip and fatigue; hunting and war were their only exerciſes; but confiding too much in their natural courage, they neglected military diſcipline. The Perſians were hitherto rough, but virtuous: They were not verſed in thoſe arts and ſciences which poliſh the mind and manners; but they were great maſters in the ſublime ſcience of being content with ſimple nature, deſpiſing death for the love of their country, and flying all pleaſures which emaſculate the mind, and enervate the body. Being perſuaded that ſobriety and exerciſe prevent almoſt every diſeaſe, they habituated themſelves to a rigorous abſtinence and perpetual labour: (c) The lighteſt indiſpoſitions proceeding from intemperance were thought ſhameful. The youth were educated in publick ſchools, where they were early inſtructed in the knowledge of the laws, and accuſtomed to hear cauſes, paſs ſentence, and mutually to do one another the moſt exact juſtice; and hereby they diſcovered their diſpoſitions, penetration

(c) *Xen. Cyr. p.* 18. *Ed. Oxon. Turpe enim apud Perſas habetur expuere, naſum emungere, &c.*

and

and capacity for employments in a riper age. The virtues, which their maſters were principally careful to inſpire into them, were the love of truth, humanity, ſobriety and obedience: The two former make us reſemble the Gods; the two latter are neceſſary to the preſervation of order. The chief aim of the laws in ancient Perſia was to prevent the corruption of the heart: And for this reaſon the Perſians puniſhed ingratitude (d); a vice againſt which there is no proviſion made by the laws of other nations: Whoever was capable of forgetting a benefit was looked upon as an enemy to ſociety.

Cyrus had been educated according to theſe wiſe maxims; and though it was impoſſible to conceal from him his rank and birth, yet he was treated with the ſame ſeverity as if he had not been heir to a throne; he was taught to practiſe an exact obedience, that he might afterwards know how to command. When he arrived at the age of fourteen, Aſtyages deſir'd to ſee him: Mandana could not avoid complying with her father's orders, but the thought of carrying her ſon to the court of Ecbatana exceedingly griev'd her.

For the ſpace of three hundred years the Kings of Media had by their bravery extended their conqueſts; and conqueſts had begot luxury, which is always the forerunner of the fall of empires. VALOUR, CONQUEST, LUXURY, ANARCHY, this is the fatal circle, and theſe are the different periods of the politick life, in almoſt all ſtates. The court of Ecbatana was then in it's ſplendor; but this ſplendor had nothing in it of ſolidity. The days were ſpent in effeminacy, or in flattery; the love of glory, ſtrict probity, ſevere honour, were no longer in eſteem; the purſuit of ſolid knowledge was thought to argue a want of taſte; agreeable

(d) *Cyrop. Xen. p.* 10.

trifling, fine-ſpun thoughts, and lively ſallies of imagination, were the only kinds of wit admired there. No ſort of writings pleas'd, but amuſing fictions where there was a perpetual ſucceſſion of events, which ſurpriſed by their variety, without improving the underſtanding, or ennobling the heart. Love was without delicacy; blind pleaſure was it's only attractive charm: The women thought themſelves deſpiſed, when no attempts were made to enſnare them. That which contributed to encreaſe this corruption of mind, manners and ſentiments, was the new doctrine ſpread every where by the ancient Magi, that pleaſure is the only moving ſpring of man's heart: For as each man placed his pleaſure in what he liked beſt, this maxim authoriſed virtue or vice according to every one's taſte, humour, or complexion. This depravity, however, was not then ſo univerſal as it became afterwards. Corruption takes it's riſe in courts, and extends itſelf gradually through all the parts of a ſtate. Military diſcipline was yet in it's vigour in Media; and there were in the provinces many brave ſoldiers, who not being infected by the contagious air of Ecbatan, preſerved in themſelves all the virtues which flouriſhed in the reigns of Dejoces and Phraortes.

Mandana was thoroughly ſenſible of all the dangers to which ſhe ſhould expoſe young Cyrus, by carrying him to a court, the manners of which were ſo different from thoſe of the Perſians; but the will of Cambyſes, and the orders of Aſtyages, obliged her, whether ſhe would or not, to undertake the journey. She ſet out attended by a body of the young nobility of Perſia under the command of Hyſtaſpes, to whom the education of Cyrus had been committed: The young Prince was ſeated in a chariot with her, and it was the firſt time that he had ſeen himſelf diſtinguiſhed from his companions.

Mandana

Mandana was a Princeſs of uncommon virtue, a well cultivated underſtanding and a ſuperior genius. She made it her buſineſs during the journey to inſpire Cyrus with the love of virtue, by entertaining him with fables according to the Eaſtern manner. The minds of young perſons are not touched by abſtracted ideas, they have need of agreeable and familiar images; they cannot reaſon, they can only feel the charms of truth; and to make it lovely to them, it muſt be preſented under ſenſible and beautiful forms.

Mandana had obſerved that Cyrus was often too full of himſelf, and that he diſcovered ſome tokens of a riſing vanity, which might one day obſcure his great qualities. She endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the deformity of this vice, by relating to him the fable of Sozares, a Prince of the ancient empire of Aſſyria. It reſembles the ſtory of the Grecian Narciſſus, who periſhed by the fooliſh love of himſelf. For thus it is that the Gods puniſh; they only give us over to our own paſſions, and we immediately commence unhappy. She then painted forth the beauty of thoſe noble virtues which lead to heroiſm, by the generous forgetting of one's ſelf, and related to him the fable of the firſt Hermes. This was a divine youth, who had wit and beauty without knowing it, and was unacquainted with his own virtue, becauſe he knew not that there were any vices: The Gods to reward this happy ignorance endowed him with ſuch ſublime wiſdom as made him the oracle of all Egypt. It was thus that Mandana inſtructed her ſon during the journey; one fable gave riſe to another. The queſtions of the Prince furniſhed the Queen with new matter to entertain him, and with opportunity of teaching him the hidden meaning of the Egyptian fables, the taſte for which had prevailed very much in the Eaſt, ſince the conqueſts of Seſoſtris.

As they paſſed one day by a mountain, conſecrated to the great Oromazes (e), Mandana ſtopped her chariot, alighted, and drew near to the ſacred place. It was the day of a ſolemn feſtival, and the high prieſt was already preparing the victim, crowned with flowers; he was of a ſudden ſeized with the divine Spirit, and interrupting the ſilence and ſolemnity of the ſacrifice, cried out in a tranſport; I ſee a young laurel riſing, it will ſoon ſpread it's branches over all the Eaſt, the nations will come in crowds to aſſemble together under it's ſhadow (f). Mandana made deep reflections upon this oracle, and when ſhe was got up again into her chariot, ſaid to her ſon: The Gods give ſometimes theſe happy preſages to animate heroic ſouls: But the event of ſuch predictions, as far as they are perſonal, depends upon our virtue: The deſigns of the great Oromazes never fail of their accompliſhment, but he changes the inſtruments of them, when thoſe whom he had choſen render themſelves unworthy of his choice.

As ſoon as they arrived upon the frontiers of Media, Aſtyages with all his court came out to meet them. He was a Prince of great beneficence and humanity, but his natural goodneſs made him often too eaſy, and his propenſity to pleaſure had brought the Medes into the taſte of luxury and effeminacy. Cyrus, ſoon after his arrival at the court of Ecbatana, gave proofs of a wit and judgment far beyond his age. Aſtyages put divers queſtions to him concerning the manners of the Perſians, their laws, and their method of educating youth. He was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſprightly and noble

(e) *The great God of the Perſians. See the Diſcourſe, p.* 281.
(f) *Iſaiah's prophecy may be ſuppoſed to have been ſpread abroad in the Eaſt.*

anſwers

anſwers of his grandſon. Young Cyrus was the admiration of the whole court, inſomuch that he began to be intoxicated with praiſe; a ſecret preſumption ſtole into his heart; he talked a little too much, and did not hearken enough to others; he decided with an air of ſufficiency, and ſeemed too fond of it. Mandana, to remedy this fault, contrived to ſet before him his own picture by certain paſſages of hiſtory; for ſhe proceeded in his education upon the ſame plan on which ſhe had begun it. She related to him the ſtory of Logis and Sygeus.

My Son, ſaid ſhe, it was formerly the cuſtom at Thebes in Bœotia to raiſe to the throne, after the death of the King, him of all his children who had the beſt underſtanding. When a Prince has fine parts he can chooſe able miniſters, make proper uſe of their talents, and govern thoſe who govern under him; this is the great ſecret of the art of reigning. Among the King's Sons there were two who ſeemed of a ſuperior genius. The elder, named Logis, loved talking; the younger, who was called Sygeus, was a man of few words. The firſt made himſelf admired by the charms of his wit, the ſecond made himſelf loved by the goodneſs of his heart. Logis ſhewed plainly, even while he endeavoured to conceal it, that he ſpoke only to ſhine; Sygeus hearkened readily to others, and looked upon converſation as a ſort of commerce, where each perſon ought to furniſh ſomething of his own. The one made the moſt thorny and perplexed affairs agreeable by the lively and ſhining ſtrokes of wit he intermixed in all he ſaid; the other threw light upon the obſcureſt points, by reducing every thing to ſimple principles. Logis affected myſtery without being ſecret, and his politicks were full of ſtratagems and artifice; Sygeus, impenetrable without being falſe, ſurmounted all

obſtacles by his prudence and courage. The one never diſplay'd his talents but to ſerve his ambition; the other frequently concealed his virtues that he might taſte the ſecret pleaſure of doing good for it's own ſake.

After the King's death, all the people got together in haſte to chooſe a ſucceſſor to the throne: Twelve old men preſided at the aſſembly to correct the judgment of the multitude, who ſeldom fail to be carried away by prejudice, appearances, or paſſion. The eloquent Prince made a long, but fine harangue, wherein he ſet forth all the duties of a King, in order to inſinuate, that one who was ſo well acquainted with them would undoubtedly fulfil them: Prince Sygeus in a few words repreſented to the aſſembly the great hazards in the exerciſe of ſovereign authority, and confeſs'd an unwillingneſs to expoſe himſelf to them. It is not, added he, that I would ſhun any difficulties or dangers to ſerve my country, but I am afraid of being found unequal to the taſk of governing. The old men decided in favour of Sygeus; but the young people, and thoſe of ſuperficial underſtandings, took the part of the elder brother, and raiſed by degrees a rebellion, under pretext that injuſtice had been done to Logis. Troops were levied on both ſides; Sygeus propoſed to yield his right to his brother, in order to hinder the effuſion of the blood of his countrymen, but his army would not conſent to it.

The chief men of both parties ſeeing the miſeries with which the ſtate was ready to be overwhelmed, propoſed the expedient of letting both the brothers reign, each a year, by turns. This form of government has many inconveniences, but it was preferred before a civil war, the greateſt of all calamities. The two brothers applauded the propoſal for peace, and Logis aſcended the throne. He changed in a little time all the ancient laws of the kingdom;

kingdom; he was always liſtening to new projects; and to have a lively imagination was ſufficient to raiſe a man to the higheſt employments: That which ſeemed excellent in ſpeculation could not be executed without difficulty and confuſion; his miniſters, who had no experience, knew not that precipitate changes, how uſeful ſoever they may appear, are always dangerous. The neighbouring nations took advantage from this weak adminiſtration to invade the country; and had it not been for the prudence and bravery of Sygeus all had been loſt, and the people muſt have ſubmitted to a foreign yoke. His brother's year being expired he aſcended the throne, gained the confidence and love of his people, re-eſtabliſhed the ancient laws, and by his wiſe conduct, even more than by his victories, drove the enemy out of the country. From that time Sygeus reigned alone, and it was decided in the ſupreme council of the old men, that the King to be choſen for the future ſhould not be the perſon who gave proofs of the quickeſt parts, but of the ſoundeſt judgment. They were of opinion, that to talk eloquently, or to be fruitful in expedients and ſtratagems were not talents ſo eſſential to a good governor, as a juſt diſcernment in chooſing, and a ſteadineſs and courage in purſuing the beſt and wiſeſt councils.

Cyrus uſually confeſſed his faults without ſeeking to excuſe them: He liſtened to this ſtory with attention, perceived the deſign of Mandana in telling it, and reſolved to correct himſelf.

Soon after this, he gave a notable proof of his genius and courage. He was ſcarce ſixteen years of age when Merodac, ſon of Nabuchodonoſor King of Aſſyria, aſſembled ſome troops, and under pretence of a great hunting made a ſudden irruption into Media: He marched in perſon with twelve thouſand men towards the firſt ſtrong places belong-

ing to the Medes, encamped near them, and from thence ſent out detachments every day to ſcour and ravage the country. Aſtyages had notice of it; and having given the neceſſary orders for aſſembling his army, he ſet out with his ſon Cyaxares and young Cyrus, followed only by ſome troops levied in haſte, to the number of eight thouſand men. When he was come near the borders of his own country, he encamped upon a riſing ground, from whence he could diſcover the plain which the detachments of Merodac were laying waſte. Aſtyages ordered two of his general officers to go and obſerve the enemy; Cyrus deſired leave to accompany them, in order to inform himſelf of the ſituation of the country, the advantageous poſts, and the ſtrength of the Aſſyrian army: Having made his obſervations he came back, and gave an exact account of all he had ſeen.

The next day Merodac left his camp and advanced towards the Medes; whereupon Aſtyages aſſembled a council of war to deliberate upon the motions he ſhould make. The general officers, fearing the numbers of the enemy, thought it moſt adviſable to retire, or at leaſt to ſuſpend all action till the arrival of freſh troops. Cyrus, who was impatient to engage, heard their opinions with uneaſineſs, but obſerved a profound ſilence out of reſpect to the Emperor, and ſo many experienced commanders; at length Aſtyages ordered him to ſpeak. He then roſe up in the midſt of the aſſembly, and with a noble and modeſt air, ſaid: Merodac is now in full march, but he cannot come up with us without paſſing between a wood to his right and a moraſs to his left. Let the army advance to attack him in that place, where he will not be able to extend his troops and ſurround us. In the mean time I will convey myſelf with five hundred young Medes through this deep narrow valley, and

and line the wood. I have juſt cauſed it to be viewed, and find that the enemy have neglected this poſt.

He ſaid no more, bluſhed, and feared to have ſpoken too much. All admired his genius for war at ſuch tender years; and Aſtyages ſurprized at his ready thought and judgment, immediately commanded that his counſel ſhould be followed. Cyaxares marched ſtrait to meet the enemy, while Cyrus accompanied by Hyſtaſpes filed off with a body of voluntiers, and without being diſcovered ſeized an angle of the wood. The Prince of the Medes attacked the Aſſyrians in the narroweſt part of the paſs, and while Aſtyages advanced to ſuſtain him, Cyrus ſallied out of the wood, fell upon the enemy in flank, and with his voice animated the Medes, who all followed him with ardour; he covered himſelf with his ſhield, pierced into the thickeſt of the battalions, and ſpread terror and ſlaughter where-ever he came. The Aſſyrians, ſeeing themſelves thus attacked on all ſides, loſt courage and fled in diſorder. As ſoon as the battle was over, generoſity and humanity reſumed their empire in the breaſt of Cyrus: He was ſenſibly touched with ſeeing the field covered with dead bodies: He took the ſame care of the wounded Aſſyrians as of the Medes, and gave the neceſſary orders for their cure. They are men, ſaid he, as well as we, and are no longer enemies when once they are vanquiſhed. The Emperor, having taken his precautions to prevent ſuch irruptions for the future, returned to Ecbatan.

Mandana, being ſoon after obliged to leave Media and return to Cambyſes, would have taken her ſon with her, but Aſtyages oppoſed it: Why, ſaid he, will you deprive me of the pleaſure of ſeeing Cyrus? He will here learn military diſcipline which is not yet known in Perſia. I conjure you, by the

tenderneſs which I have always ſhewn you, not to refuſe me this conſolation. Mandana could not yield her conſent but with great reluctance. She dreaded the leaving her ſon in the midſt of a court which was the ſeat of voluptuouſneſs. Being alone with Cyrus: My ſon, ſaid ſhe, Aſtyages deſires that you ſhould continue here with him; yet I cannot without concern reſolve to leave you: I fear leſt the purity of your manners ſhould be ſtained, and you ſhould be intoxicated with fooliſh paſſions. The firſt ſteps to vice will ſeem to be only innocent amuſements, a well-bred compliance with received cuſtoms, and a liberty which you muſt allow your ſelf in order to pleaſe. Virtue may come by degrees to be thought too ſevere, an enemy to pleaſure and ſociety, and even contrary to nature, becauſe it oppoſes inclination; in a word, you will perhaps look upon it as matter of mere decency, a politick phantom, a popular prejudice, from which men ought to get free, when they can indulge their paſſions in ſecret. Thus you may go from one ſtep to another, till your underſtanding be infatuated, your heart led aſtray, and you run into all ſorts of crimes.

Leave Hyſtaſpes with me, replied Cyrus; he will teach me to avoid all theſe dangers. Friendſhip has long accuſtomed me to open my heart to him, and he is not only my counſellor, but the confident of my weakneſſes. Hyſtaſpes was an experienced commander who had ſerved many years under Aſtyages, in his wars againſt the Scythians and the King of Lydia, and had all the virtues of the ancient Perſians, together with the politeneſs of the Medes. Being a great politician and a great philoſopher, a man equally able and diſintereſted, he had riſen to the firſt employments of the ſtate without ambition, and poſſeſſed them with modeſty. Mandana being perſuaded of the virtue and capacity of Hyſtaſpes,

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as well as of the advantages her ſon might find by living in a court that was no leſs brave and knowing in the art of war than polite, obeyed Aſtyages with the leſs regret. She began her journey ſoon after, and Cyrus accompanied her ſome leagues from Ecbatana; at parting ſhe embraced him with tenderneſs; My ſon, ſaid ſhe, remember that your virtue alone can make me happy. The young Prince melted into tears, and could make no anſwer; this was his firſt ſeparation from her: He followed her with his eyes till ſhe was out of ſight, and then returned to Ecbatan.

Cyrus continued at the court of Aſtyages without being infected by it. This however was not owing to the precautions of Mandana, the counſels of Hyſtaſpes, or his own natural virtue, but to love. There was then at Ecbatan a young Princeſs named Caſſandana, related to Cyrus, and daughter of Pharnaſpes, who was of the race of the Achemenides. Her mother dying, her father, who as one of the principal Satrapes of Perſia, had ſent her to the court of Aſtyages, to be there educated under the eye of Ariana Queen of the Medes. Caſſandana had all the politeneſs of that court without any of it's faults; her wit was equal to her beauty, and her modeſty heightened the charms of both; her imagination was lively, but directed by her judgment; a juſtneſs of thought was as natural to her as a gracefulneſs of expreſſion and manner; the delicate ſtrokes of wit, with which her eaſy and chearful converſation abounded, were unſtudied and unaffected; nor were the acquired accompliſhments of her mind inferior to her natural graces and virtues; but ſhe concealed her talents with ſo much care, or diſcovered them with ſo much reſerve, that every thing in her ſeemed the work of pure nature. She had entertained a particular regard for Cyrus from the firſt moment ſhe had ſeen him, but had

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ſo carefully hid her ſentiments as not to be ſuſpected.

Proximity of blood gave Cyrus frequent opportunities of ſeeing her, and diſcourſing with her. Her converſation poliſhed the manners of the young Prince, who inſenſibly acquired by it a delicacy with which till then he had been unacquainted. The beauties and virtues of the Princeſs produced by degrees in his ſoul all the motions of that noble paſſion, which ſoftens the hearts of heroes without leſſening their courage, and which places the principel charm of love in the pleaſure of loving. Precepts, maxims and ſevere leſſons, do not always preſerve the mind from the poiſoned arrows of ſenſuality. Virtue does not render the heart inſenſible, but it often happens that a well-placed love is the only ſecurity from dangerous and criminal paſſions.

Cyrus enjoyed in the converſation of Caſſandana all the pleaſures of the pureſt friendſhip, without daring to declare his love; his youth and his modeſty made him timorous. Nor was it long before he felt all the pains, diſquiets and alarms, which ever attend upon ſuch paſſions, even when they are moſt innocent. Caſſandana's beauty created him a rival; Cyaxares felt the power of her charms; he was much about the ſame age with Cyrus, but of a very different character; he had wit and courage, but was of an impetuous, haughty diſpoſition, and ſhewed already but too great a propenſity to all the vices common to young Princes. Caſſandana could love nothing but virtue, and her heart had made it's choice. She dreaded more than death a marriage which ſhould naturally have flattered her ambition. Cyaxares was unacquainted with the delicacy of love: His high rank augmented his natural haughtineſs, and the manners of the Medes authorized his preſumption; ſo that he uſed little

little precaution or ceremony in letting the Princeſs know his paſſion for her. He immediately perceived her indifference, ſought for the cauſe of it, and was not long in making the diſcovery. In all publick diverſions ſhe appeared gay and free with him, but was more reſerved with Cyrus. The guard ſhe kept upon herſelf gave her an air of conſtraint, which was not natural to her. She anſwered to all the civilities of Cyaxares with ready and lively ſtrokes of wit; but when Cyrus ſpoke to her, ſhe could hardly conceal her perplexity.

The Prince of Perſia, being little ſkilled in the ſecrets of love, did not interpret the conduct of Caſſandana in the ſame manner with his rival. He imagined that ſhe was pleaſed with the paſſion of Cyaxares, and that her eyes were dazzled with the luſtre of that prince's crown. He experienced alternately the uncertainty and hope, the pains and pleaſures of a lively paſſion: His trouble was too great to be long concealed; Hyſtaſpes perceived it and ſaid to him: For ſome time paſt I have obſerved that you are thoughtful and abſent; I believe I ſee into the cauſe of it, you are in love, Cyrus; there is no way to vanquiſh love, but to cruſh it in it's birth. You are ignorant of it's wiles, and the dangers into which it leads; at firſt it enchants with it's ſweetneſs, but in the end it poiſons: It paſſes in the beginning for nothing more than a homage paid to merit, and a ſentiment worthy of a tender and generous heart; by little and little the ſoul loſes it's vigour, the underſtanding is bewildered, and the intoxication augments; that which ſeemed in it's birth an innocent inclination and a lovely paſſion, becomes on a ſudden all fury and madneſs. Cyrus, touched to the quick by theſe words, hearkned to them with great uneaſineſs; he frequently changed colour, but durſt not make any anſwer, Hyſtaſpes knowing that examples make a deeper impreſſion

preſſion than reaſoning, related to him the hiſtory of Zarina and Stryangeus; in which we have an inſtance of the fatal conſequences of a violent paſſion; and at the ſame time of the poſſibility of ſurmounting it.

(g) In the reign of Cyaxares ſon of Phraortes, ſaid he, a bloody war was kindled between the Sacæ and the Medes. The troops of Cyaxares were commanded by his ſon-in-law Stryangeus, the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed Prince of all the Eaſt. He had married Rhetea the Emperor's daughter, who had both wit and beauty, and was of a moſt amiable temper. Nothing had hitherto either leſſened or diſturbed their mutual paſſion. Zarina, Queen of the Sacæ, put herſelf at the head of her own troops; for ſhe was not only adorned with all the charms of her ſex, but was miſtreſs of the moſt heroick virtues: Having been educated at the court of Media, ſhe had there contracted an intimate friendſhip with Rhetea from her childhood. For two whole years the war was carried on with equal advantages on both ſides. Truces were often made in order to treat of peace; and during theſe ceſſations of arms, Zarina and Stryangeus had frequent interveiws. The great qualities which he diſcovered in this Princeſs immediately produced eſteem; and under the cover of that eſteem, love ſoon inſinuated itſelf into his heart. He no longer endeavour'd to put an end to the war, for fear of being ſeparated from Zarina; but he made frequent truces, in which love had a greater ſhare than policy.

The Emperor at length ſent expreſs orders to give a deciſive battle. In the heat of the engage-

(g) *This ſtory has it's foundation in antiquity, and is taken from Nicolaus of Dam. Cteſias and Diod. Sic.*

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ment the two commanders met each other; Stryangeus would have avoided Zarina, but she, whose heart was yet free from any thing which should restrain her, attacked him, and obliged him to defend himself: Let us spare, cried she, the blood of our subjects: It belongs to us alone to put an end to the war. Love and glory by turns animated the young hero; he was equally afraid of conquering and of being conquered; He frequently exposed his own life by sparing Zarina's, but at length found means to gain the victory; he threw his javelin with a skilful hand, yet scarce had he let it fly when he repented, and would have recalled it; the Queen's horse was wounded; the horse fell, and the Queen with him: Stryangeus flew instantly to her relief, and would have no other fruit of his victory, than the pleasure of saving what he loved. He offered her peace with all sorts of advantages, preserved her dominions to her, and, in the name of the Emperor, swore a perpetual alliance with her at the head of the two armies. After this he begged permission to wait upon her to her capital, and she consented to it; but their motives were very different. Zarina's thoughts were wholly taken up with the care of testifying her gratitude, while Stryangeus sought only an opportunity of discovering his love; he accompanied the princess in her chariot, and they were conducted with pomp to Roxanacia. Stryangeus easily found means to prolong his stay there. It was necessary that the Emperor should ratify by a treaty the engagements into which his General had entered; and the Prince by his address caused several difficulties to be started which might make his presence requisite at the court of Zarina. He artfully made advantage of these negotiations to let the Queen see how much he had her interest at heart; he at first concealed his designs that he might secure her friendship. Virtuous

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ſouls do not eaſily entertain diſtruſt, their very innocence helps to betray them when they are ignorant of the wiles of love. Zarina was all gratitude, and her eſteem for Stryangeus began by little and little to grow into affection, without her perceiving it. She often ſuffered her ſentiments to break forth, in the moſt conſpicuous manner, becauſe ſhe knew not as yet the ſource of them; ſhe taſted the ſecret ſweets of a young and growing paſſion, and was unwilling to examine into the motions of her own heart; but at length ſhe diſcovered, that love had too great a ſhare in them; ſhe bluſhed at her weakneſs, and reſolved to get the better of it; ſhe preſſed the departure of Stryangeus, but the young Mede could not leave Roxanacia: He was no longer mindful of glory, he forgot all his affection for Rhetea, he yielded himſelf up intirely to a blind paſſion, ſighed, complained, and being no longer maſter of himſelf, declared his love to Zarina in the ſtrongeſt and moſt paſſionate terms.

The Queen did not ſeek to hide the ſituation of her mind, but ſhunning all affected evaſions and myſtery, anſwered with a noble frankneſs: I am indebted to you for my life and for my crown; my love is equal to my gratitude, and my heart is no leſs touched than yours; but I will ſooner die than betray my virtue, or ſuffer that your glory ſhould receive the leaſt blemiſh. Conſider, dear Stryangeus, that you are the huſband of Rhetea, whom I love; Honour and friendſhip oblige me equally to ſacrifice a paſſion which would prove my ſhame and her misfortune. As ſhe ended theſe words ſhe retired. Stryangeus remained confounded, and in deſpair; He ſhut himſelf up in his apartment, and felt by turns all the contrary motions of an heroick ſoul that is combated, conquered and inſulted by a violent and tyrannical paſſion. One while he is jealous of Zarina's glory, and reſolves to imitate her;

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The next moment cruel love ſports with his reſolutions, and even with his virtue. In this tempeſt of paſſions his underſtanding is clouded, his reaſon forſakes him, and he reſolves to kill himſelf; but he firſt writes theſe words to Zarina. "I ſaved your "life, and you take away mine; I fall the victim "of my love and of your virtue, being unable to "conquer the one or to imitate the other. Death "alone can put an end to my crime, and to my tor-"ment. Farewel for ever." He ſent this letter to the Queen, who inſtantly flew to the apartment of the young Mede; but he had already plunged the dagger into his breaſt; ſhe ſaw him weltring in his blood, fell into a ſwoon, came again to herſelf, and by her tears called back his ſoul that was ready to take it's flight. He ſighed, opened his eyes, beheld the grief of Zarina, and conſented to have his wound taken care of, which for many days was thought mortal.

Rhetea, being informed of this tragical adventure, ſoon arrived at Roxanacia. Zarina related to her all that had happened, without concealing either her weakneſs or her reſiſtance. Such noble ſimplicity cannot be underſtood or reliſhed but by great ſouls. Though the war between the Sacæ and the Medes had interrupted the correſpondence of theſe two Princeſſes, it had not in the leaſt diminiſhed their friendſhip; they knew and eſteemed each other too well to be ſuſceptible of diſtruſt or jealouſy. Rhetea always beheld Stryangeus with the eyes of a lover: She lamented and compaſſionated his weakneſs, becauſe ſhe ſaw it was involuntary. His wound was at length healed, but he was not cured of his love: Zarina in vain preſſed his departure, he was not able to tear himſelf away from that fatal place, his paſſion and his torments were renewed. Rhetea perceived it and fell into a deep ſadneſs; ſhe ſuffered all the moſt cruel agitations of ſoul: Grief for being no longer loved by a

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man whom alone ſhe loved; commiſeration for a huſband given up to deſpair; eſteem for a rival whom ſhe could not hate. She ſaw herſelf every day between a lover hurried away by his paſſion, and a virtuous friend whom ſhe admired; and that her life was the misfortune of both. How cruel a ſituation for a generous and tender heart! The more ſhe concealed her pain, the more ſhe was oppreſſed by it. She ſunk at laſt under the weight, and fell dangerouſly ſick. One day when ſhe was alone with Zarina and Stryangeus, ſhe dropt theſe words; I am dying; but I die content, ſince my death will make you happy.

Zarina melted into tears at theſe words and withdrew: Theſe words pierced the heart of Stryangeus: He looked upon Rhetea and beheld her pale, languiſhing, and ready to expire with grief and love. The Princeſs's eyes were fixed and immovably faſten'd upon the Prince; his own at length were opened; He was like a man who awakes from a profound ſleep, or comes out of a delirium, where nothing had appeared in it's natural ſhape. He had ſeen Rhetea every day without perceiving the cruel condition to which he had reduced her; he ſaw her at preſent with other eyes; it awakened all his virtue, and kindled again all his former tenderneſs. He acknowledged his error, threw himſelf at her feet, and, embracing her, repeated often theſe words, interrupted by tears and ſighs; Live my dear Rhetea, live to give me the pleaſure of repairing my fault; I am now acquainted with all the value of your heart. Theſe words brought her again to life: her beauty returned by degrees with her ſtrength: She departed ſoon after with Stryangeus for Ecbatana, and from that time nothing ever diſturbed their union.

You ſee by this, continued Hyſtaſpes, to what extremities love may reduce the greateſt heroes; you ſee likewiſe the power of reſolution and courage in con-

conquering the moſt violent paſſions, when we have a ſincere deſire to get the victory. I ſhould fear nothing for you if there were at this court ſuch perſons as Zarina; but heroick virtue like hers would now be thought romantick, or rather a ſavage inſenſibility. The manners of the Medes are very much changed: Caſſandana, continued he with deſign, is the only perſon I ſee here who is worthy of your affection. He was going on, when Cyrus interrupting him cried out, You have named the dear object of my heart; Caſſandana has rendered me inſenſible to every thing that could have ſeduced my virtue, I love her, but I am not loved. The Prince ſtopped here, fearing to have ſaid too much; he looked upon Hyſtaſpes to ſee whether he approved of his love.

Hyſtaſpes, overjoyed to have diſcovered the Prince's paſſion by this innocent artifice, reſolved inſtantly to employ all his endeavours to cure him of it, but yet to manage him with delicacy and tenderneſs; he diſſembled his concern, and embracing the young Prince, with a ſerene countenance ſaid to him, Caſſandana's beauty is the leaſt of her charms, her heart is as pure as her underſtanding is bright: I cannot however approve of your paſſion, you know that Cambyſes has other views for you. He deſigns you for the Daughter of Crœſus, one of the moſt potent Monarchs of the Eaſt. It is by this marriage that you muſt begin to verify the Oracles; Perſia is a tributary province, too inconſiderable to be the centre of a vaſt empire, and the ſcene of thoſe great exploits to which the Gods have deſtined you; do not oppoſe their decrees: You cannot without a crime give your heart to any other but her whom Cambyſes has choſen for you; remember the ſtory of Stryangeus, and the exceſſes to which that hero was hurried by his love. This diſcourſe threw Cyrus back into his former ſadneſs; but out of friendſhip

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for Hyſtaſpes he concealed his pains without diſguiſing his ſentiments. If the great Oromazes, ſaid he with a ſubmiſſive tone of voice, decrees me for the daughter of the King of Lydia, he will doubtleſs give me the ſtrength to get the maſtery of my paſſion. But, alas, can you compare my love for Caſſandana with that of Stryangeus for Zarina? That Prince's love, anſwered Hyſtaſpes, was criminal, but your's cannot be innocent, if it be not approved of by Cambyſes. He durſt not ſay any more, well knowing, that oppoſition for the moſt part ſerves only to irritate the minds of young perſons. He contented himſelf with obſerving for ſome days all the Prince's motions, and at length concluded that the only means to cure him of his paſſion was to ſeparate him from the object of it. He inform'd Cambyſes of Cyrus's affection for Caſſandana, and as the King of Perſia had other views for his ſon which ſuited better with his politicks, he recalled him into Perſia.

The young Prince received his father's orders with a concern that was ſuitable to the violence of his love. Caſſandana on the other hand could not ſupport the thought of a ſeparation, which left her wholly expoſed to the importunities of Cyaxares, and ſhe gave herſelf up to grief; even love itſelf obliged her to fly what ſhe loved; ſhe was afraid of contributing to the misfortunes of Cyrus by approving of his paſſion: But while ſhe carefully avoided him, he ſought for her with eagerneſs; and decency at length required ſhe ſhould ſee him to receive his laſt adieu. The Prince was no longer able to hide his ſentiments, he diſcovered at the ſame time both the violence of his paſſion and the exceſs of his affliction. Some tears dropped from the Princeſs's eyes, and in ſpite of her reſervedneſs theſe words eſcaped her: Ah Gods, why have you given me a heart capable of tenderneſs, if you forbid me to

love? She bluſhed as ſhe uttered theſe words and retired. Cyrus durſt not follow her; the joy of finding that he was loved by Caſſandana, and the fear of loſing her, excited ſuch a tempeſt of contrary motions in his ſoul as exceedingly diſtreſſed him. After a long ſtruggle and violent agitations of mind, he at length flattered himſelf, that when he arrived at the court of Perſia he might be able to move Cambyſes, by the help of Mandana, and this hope hindered him from ſinking under the weight of ſo cruel a ſeparation.

The young nobility would accompany him to the frontiers of Media. As he went from Ecbatan, he often ſtopped to look back upon the place where he had left Caſſandana; at length he loſt ſight of that ſtately city, and continued his way. When he came to the frontiers where the young Medes were to leave him, he made them all rich preſents, but with admirable diſtinction, preferring merit and ſervice to birth and rank. During the reſt of the journey, the hope of engaging Mandana in the intereſts of his love ſeemed entirely to calm his mind, and diffuſed an air of contentment upon his face which he had not before. His return into Perſia was celebrated by publick feaſting and rejoicings; and when theſe were over, he left his father's palace, and retired to the place allotted for the education of the young Perſian nobility, where he continued till he was eighteen. The young Satrapes, ſeeing Cyrus returned, ſaid one to another: He has been living delicately at the court of Media, he will never be able to accuſtom himſelf to our ſimple and laborious manner of life: But when they ſaw that he was content with their ordinary diet, that he was more temperate and abſtemious than they themſelves, and that he ſhewed more ſkill and courage in all his exerciſes, they were ſtruck with admiration, and confeſſed, that he had

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yet a juſter title to the throne by his merit than by his birth.

Some days after his return Cambyſes ſent for him, and ſeeming ignorant of his paſſion for Caſſandana, imparted to him the deſign he had of ſpeedily marrying him to Candaules, daughter of the King of Lydia. Cyrus made no anſwer but by a deep ſigh and a reſpectful ſilence; but the moment he left the King he ran to the Queen's apartment to diſcloſe to her the ſecret of his heart. I have followed your counſels, ſaid he, at the court of Ecbatan, I have lived inſenſible to all the moſt enticing charms of voluptuouſneſs; but I owe nothing to myſelf on this account, I owe all to the daughter of Pharnaſpes; I love her, and this love has preſerved me from all the errors and extravagancies of youth: Do not think that my attachment to her is only a tranſient liking which may ſoon be over; I have never loved any other than Caſſandana, and I feel that I never can love but her alone: Will you ſuffer the happineſs of my life to be made a ſacrifice to political views? It is pretended that my marriage with the daughter of Crœſus is the firſt ſtep I muſt take to enlarge my Empire, but ſurely the Gods con make me a Conqueror without making me miſerable. Mandana perceived that her ſon's paſſion was yet too ſtrong to ſuffer any remonſtrances againſt it, and hoping that time and abſence would inſenſibly weaken it, ſhe in the mean time ſoothed and encouraged him.

Caſſandana lived ſtill at the court of Ecbatan, but ſhe always received Cyaxares with great coldneſs. He owed all the complaiſance ſhe had ſhewn him to Cyrus's preſence. The pleaſure of ſeeing Cyrus, of loving him, and being loved by him, filled her ſoul with a ſecret joy that diffuſed itſelf through all her actions: But after the departue of the young Prince, her converſation, which had before been ſo ſprightly and chearful, was changed into a mournful ſilence:

She languiſh'd, her lively wit ſeem'd to be extinguiſh'd, and all her natural charms to diſappear. In the mean while Pharnaſpes fell dangerouſly ill at the court of Perſia, and deſired to ſee his daughter; upon this news ſhe left Ecbatan in haſte, to pay the laſt duties to her father. Several Ladies of the court regretted her, but the greater part rejoiced at the abſence of a Princeſs, whoſe manners were too perfect a model of diſcreet conduct. Cyaxares ſaw the departure of Caſſandana with inexpreſſible diſſatisfaction: Spite, jealouſy, hatred to his rival, all the paſſions which ariſe from ſlighted love, tyrannized over his heart. He gave orders to young Araſpes, the ſon of Harpagus, to go privately through by ways and ſtop Caſſandana, and to conduct her to a ſolitary place on the borders of the Caſpian ſea.

Araſpes, though he had been educated amidſt all the pleaſures of a voluptuous court, had nevertheleſs preſerved noble and generous ſentiments, and ſincerely abhorred every thing that was diſhonourable: Whatever faults he had, proceeded rather from eaſineſs and complaiſance than viciouſneſs; he was of an amiable temper and a ſound underſtanding; and being born for alms, as well as formed for a court, was qualified for any employment civil or military. He communicated the orders, given him by Cyaxares, to his father Harpagus, who loved Cyrus. Harpagus, having long ſignalized his courage in war, lived at the court of Ecbatan, without being corrupted by it: He beheld with concern the manners of the age, but ſaid little, chooſing rather to condemn them by his conduct than by his diſcourſe. I foreſee, ſaid he to Araſpes, all the misfortunes which virtue will bring upon us; but beware of gaining the Prince's favour by a crime: Go, my ſon, and inſtead of oppreſſing innocence, make haſte to it's ſuccour. Araſpes departed with expedition, overtook the Princeſs near Aſpadana, told her the orders of Cyaxares,

and offered to conduct her into Perſia. She wept for joy to ſee the generoſity of the young Mede, and made haſte to gain the frontiers of her own country. Pharnaſpes died before his daughter could reach the court of Cambyſes. When the Princeſs had mourn'd for the death of her father as nature and decency required, ſhe at length ſaw Cyrus, and informed him of the generous proceeding of Araſpes. The Prince from that moment conceived a tender friendſhip for him, which laſted to the end of their lives. But Cyaxares reſolved to avenge himſelf of Araſpes, and this in ſo cruel a manner as was a diſhonour to human nature. He cauſed Harpagus's ſecond ſon to be murdered, and his mangled limbs to be ſerved up before the unhappy father at a feaſt. The report of ſo horrible a cruelty ſtirred up the indignation of all the Medes: But Aſtyages, being blinded by paternal affection, would not ſee nor puniſh his ſon's crime: And thus a Prince, who was naturally beneficent, countenanced vice by a ſhameful weakneſs: He knew not the value of virtue, and was only good by complexion. Harpagus, being utterly diſconſolate, retired from the court of Ecbatan, and went privately into Perſia, where Cambyſes granted him all the advantages and honours he could offer him to compenſate his loſſes in Media.

Caſſandana, being not without hopes that Cambyſes would be prevailed on to alter his deſigns, lived at the court of Perſia in great tranquillity. By her virtue, wit and good ſenſe ſhe had gained the heart of Mandana, whoſe ſentiments in relation to her ſon's marriage were altered by the death of Pharnaſpes. Caſſandana's mother was daughter of the King of Armenia, and the young Princeſs might one day be heireſs of that Crown; an alliance with Croeſus would probably excite the jealouſy of the Eaſtern Princes againſt Cyrus, and Lydia was at too great a diſtance to have ſpeedy ſuccours from thence; even

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the Oracles themſelves ſeemed to be againſt this alliance, ſeeing they foretold that Lydia was to be Cyrus's firſt conqueſt. All theſe reaſons joined together determined Mandana to oppoſe no longer her ſon's inclination; however, ſhe durſt not for the preſent diſcover her thoughts to Cambyſes, becauſe he was ſtill eagerly bent upon an alliance with the King of Lydia.

Crœſus had long formed the deſign of extending his dominions in Aſia. His numerous troops, and his prodigious wealth had inſpired him with theſe ambitious thoughts. He had drawn into his ſervice, or into his alliance, the Egyptians, the Thracians, the Greeks, and divers nations that were ſettled in Aſia minor; he beheld with a jealous eye the conqueſts of Nabuchodonoſor, and was ſeeking all means to ſtop the progreſs of them; he knew that Cyrus would be heir to the crown of Media in caſe Cyaxares died without children; the Perſians had acquired the reputation of a warlike people, and their country was conveniently ſituated for making incurſions upon the territories of the King of Babylon, if ever that Prince ſhould begin a war with Lydia. Theſe conſiderations made Crœſus very deſirous of informing himſelf by his own eyes of the reſpective forces of the Kings of Media and Babylon, and of the advantages of an alliance with the one and with the other: And having more artifice and ambition than ſkill and prudence he raſhly reſolved to leave his dominions, which were not then very diſtant from Media (h), and convey himſelf, with all his court, into the very heart of Aſia. In order to conceal his real views, he raiſed ſeveral difficulties concerning the marriage of his daughter with Cyrus, which could not be well adjuſted by

(h) *Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, pag.* 316. *Herod. lib.* 1. *cap.* 73, 74.

embaſſies, and he propoſed a conference with Cambyſes on the confines of Perſia: Suza being a neutral city, was choſen for the congreſs; it was at this time under the government of Phraates, a tributary Prince to the Babylonians, and father of Abradates, who was afterwards ſo remarkable for his devotion to Cyrus. Crœſus carried the Queen of Lydia and his daughter with him, under pretence of letting them ſee Cyrus before the concluſion of the marriage. He ſent notice to the court of Perſia of his departure for Suza, upon which Cambyſes prepared likewiſe for his journey thither. But this news threw the young Prince of Perſia into the utmoſt deſpair, and Caſſandana into a terrible conſternation. She had no diſtruſt of Cyrus's conſtancy, but ſhe dreaded the ambition of Cambyſes. Mandana, who was ſteady in her views, deſired that Caſſandana might go with the court to Suza: Cambyſes at firſt oppoſed it, but fearing to heighten his ſon's paſſion for that Princeſs by a forced ſeparation, he at length yielded to the dextrous inſinuations of the Queen; he flattered himſelf with the hope of changing his ſon's inclination by the new object he ſhould preſent him with, and which indeed would have been capable of ſtealing away the heart of Cyrus, had he been of that fickle humour ſo natural to young Princes.

The two courts being met at Suza, the firſt days were ſpent in feaſting and rejoicings. Crœſus, who was naturally vain, affected a pompous ſhew of magnificence. Cambyſes, like a wiſe Prince, placed all his glory in the genius and military virtues of his ſubjects. The extraordinary concourſe of men of two nations, ſo different in their manners, created a wonderful diverſity in all the publick ſhews and entertainments, and a perfect contraſt of courtiers and warriors. The Lydians, though not grown quite effeminate, made a ſhining figure by the magnificence

nificence of their dreſs, the delicacy of their manners, and the ſprightlineſs of their converſation: But the Perſians, who were rough without ferocity, humane without politeneſs, and haughty notwithſtanding their ſimplicity, carried all the prizes in the games by their ſuperior addreſs and ſtrength of body. The negotiations were ſoon begun; and while the two Kings employed all the arts of policy to promote their deſigns, attentive love ſet all his engines at work to diſconcert them, and render them fruitleſs.

The daughter of Crœſus no ſooner appeared at Suza, but all eyes were dazzled with her charms, and the Perſians univerſally cried out that ſhe alone was worthy of Cyrus, and the only Princeſs who could make him happy. She had a manner and a turn of mind which were perfectly agreeable to the taſte and genius of that people; her noble and ſprightly air was tempered with a majeſtick ſweetneſs; ſhe loved hunting and other maſculine exerciſes, and never ſhewed any token of the weakneſſes natural to her ſex; the more ſhe was ſeen the more ſhe diſcovered of rare accompliſhments. Her ſuperior graces and wit eclipſed thoſe of all the Lydian, Suzan and Perſian ladies. Caſſandana's beauty maintained it's prerogative no where but in the heart of Cyrus. One baſhful, tender, modeſt look from that Princeſs was ſufficient to render him inſenſible to all the charms of Candaules. He behaved himſelf however with ſo much diſcretion in publick, that the fair Lydian did not perceive his indifference; but he was no ſooner alone with her than he became penſive and ſeemed quite abſent; ſhe was far from gueſſing the cauſe of it, and made him ſometimes call home his thoughts by delicate ſtrokes of raillery, to which he ſeldom gave her any anſwer, when he did, he ſeemed always embarraſſed

and at a loſs; the Princeſs imputed this to a want of ſenſe rather than of ſenſibility, and ſhe began to repent of her journey. The negotiations went on, but Cyrus ſought all means to retard them; neither the anger of Cambyſes, nor the counſels of Hyſtaſpes made any impreſſion on his mind. Nevertheleſs he inwardly condemned himſelf for his rebellion againſt his father's will; he begged time to vanquiſh his paſſion, and promiſed to uſe his utmoſt efforts to get the maſtery of it; nay he thought himſelf ſincere in the promiſes he made, but he ſaw Caſſandana and all his reſolutions vaniſhed. He preſſed, importuned, made his tears plead with Mandana, and uſed all his arguments with Cambyſes; he juſtified his paſſion to himſelf by the Oracles, and would needs believe, that the Gods, by calling him to the conqueſt of Lydia, were ſecretly averſe from his father's deſigns; he left no pretext unemployed to keep off the marriage, and love favoured his endeavours.

The Lydian Princeſs had known Caſſandana at the court of Ecbatan, and ſhe loved her with true affection. She never once imagined herſelf to be her rival. Caſſandana on the other hand felt no regret nor jealouſy to ſee the homage that was paid to her friend's beauty, but ſhe could not conſent to loſe the heart of Cyrus; ſhe never ſaw the young Lydian without uneaſineſs; ſhe would not deceive her, and ſhe durſt not ſpeak to her; ſhe was afraid of dropping the leaſt word which might either be unworthy of her love, or impoſe upon her friend; her trouble and her alarms were daily augmented, the amuſements of the court became inſipid to her, ſhe ſcarce appeared any more in publick; ſhe retired at length to a ſolitary place upon the frontiers of Perſia where the Princes of her family uſed ordinarily to reſide. It was about twenty furlongs from

from Suza (i), in a pleaſant vale water'd by three rivers, whoſe copious ſtreams being multiplied by the induſtrious inhabitants, and diſtributed into ſeveral canals, fertilis'd the meadows and kept them in a perpetual verdure. On one ſide the little hills which roſe one above another were cover'd with olive, pomegranate and orange trees; nature ſhew'd herſelf there in her richeſt and gayeſt dreſs: The lofty mountains which appear'd at a greater diſtance all around, and with their craggy tops ſeem'd to touch the ſky, ſerv'd as a barrier againſt the winds. Through the middle of a garden leſs beautified by art than nature, ran a cryſtal ſtream, which falling on a bed of pebbles form'd a caſcade, whoſe agreeable murmur ſoothed the ſoul to ſweet muſings. Not far from hence a wild vine, interweaving it's branches with many odoriferous ſhrubs, afforded all the day long a cool and refreſhing ſhade. Pharnaſpes had brought from Babylon the ſtatues of Pyramus and Thiſbe, on the pedeſtals of which was repreſented in Bas-relief the hiſtory of their misfortunes, which had made that city famous before it became ſo by it's conqueſt: He had placed theſe ſtatues in a bower, and they were almoſt the only ornament with which art had beautify'd this peaceful abode.

Candaules being inform'd of her friend's retreat went in all haſte to make her a viſit. Caſſandana was retired into the bower of Pyramus and Thiſbe. The Princeſs of Lydia intending to ſurprize her, ſtole ſoftly along behind the trees and beheld her proſtrate before the ſtatues; ſhe drew near unſeen, and liſtening to what ſhe ſaid, heard her thus deplore her misfortunes. O ye manes of chaſte lo-

(i) *The deſcription of Bedarides, near the fountain of Vaucluſe, famous for the amours of Laura and Petrarch.*

vers, if ye ever come into these places hear my complaints, be witnesses of my passion, and soften the God of love in favour of two the most unhappy of his votaries, whose fortune resembles yours; let him either perfect our union, or put an end to my life, which serves only to be an obstacle to the happiness of Candaules and the grandeur of Cyrus. The Princess of Lydia could refrain no longer, but entered the bower; the two friends embraced each other, and remain'd a long time without words or motion. Candaules was capable of strong and generous friendship, she had never felt the power of love, she had seen Cyrus with other eyes than Cassandana, and continued at the court of Suza more out of obedience than inclination, so that her heart had no sacrifice to make; she at length broke silence with these words: Ah Cassandana, why did you conceal from me your sentiments and your affliction? Banish your fears, Cyrus has made no impression on my heart, I will soon put an end to your misfortunes without giving offence either to Crœsus or Cambyses. After this they pass'd several hours together, made a mutual vow of eternal friendship, and then Candaules returned to Suza.

Cyrus was inform'd of what had pass'd, and being now no longer in any fear of injuring his love, began to contract a very strict friendship with the Lydian Princess. She very soon perceiv'd the wrong judgment she had made of his understanding, and became fully sensible of the superiority of his genius. They jointly concerted measures to disturb the negotiations, and he resum'd his easy, frank and chearful air. Cambyses was rejoiced at this change, imputed it to another cause, and press'd the conclusion of the marriage; but then Crœsus began to dissemble: He had discern'd that it would be much more advantageous for him to have an alliance with the King of Babylon than with the King of Persia; and while

while he was privately ſounding the diſpoſitions of Nabuchodonoſor, rais'd ſeveral difficulties which it was impoſſible for Cambyſes to have foreſeen. Candaules had ſeen Merodac, the Aſſyrian Prince, at the court of Lydia, and tho' ſhe was not ſuſceptible of the ſoft paſſion of love, ſhe was much better pleas'd with this match than with the other; her ambition ſtruck in with her friendſhip for Caſſandana, and ſhe us'd all her endeavours to engage her father in this deſign. Mandana having learnt how Candaules ſtood inclined, the more eaſily perſuaded herſelf, that the oracles were againſt the intended marriage, and endeavoured to make Cambyſes indifferent about the ſucceſs of the negotiations. Cyrus, who knew how every one was diſpos'd, drew thence all poſſible advantage to break off the treaty. Thus religion, love and policy made each act a different part; the conferences were ſpun out to a great length, and nothing was determin'd. But now Crœſus, receiving intelligence that the King of Babylon was not averſe from an alliance with him, left Suza on a ſudden without declaring the reaſons of his conduct. Cambyſes was piqued at this proceeding, but like a wiſe Prince diſſembled his reſentment and went back to his capital.

Caſſandana returned ſoon after to the court of Perſia, and Cyrus preſs'd Mandana to ſpeak to his father. Cambyſes who did not eaſily forſake his firſt opinions, was for renewing the negotiations with Crœſus; but the Queen repreſented to him, that Caſſandana by her mother's ſide was granddaughter to the King of Armenia, who was far advanced in years, and had but one ſon; that in caſe this Prince ſhould die ſhe would be heireſs of that crown; that the Oracles ſeem'd to diſcountenance her ſon's marriage with the daughter of Crœſus; having foretold that Cyrus ſhould begin his conqueſts by that of Lydia. Let us leave to

the Gods, said she, the care of accomplishing their own decrees, without prescribing to them the means they shall employ; they often fulfil their designs by such methods as to us would seem calculated to disappoint them. Two considerable events wrought that effect upon the King's mind, which the Queen's solicitations would never have done. Advice came that the daughter of Crœsus was promis'd to the son of the King of Babylon, and that these two Princes had entered into a strict alliance: This news disconcerted his schemes; but what determin'd him at length to comply with his son's wishes, was the death of the Prince of Armenia, by which Cassandana became presumptive heiress of that crown.

The nuptials were celebrated according to the manner of the age and of the country. Cyrus and Cassandana were conducted to the top of a high mountain consecrated to the great Oromazes; a fire of odoriferous wood was lighted; the high priest bound together the flowing robes of the two lovers as a symbol of their union: then holding each other by the hand and surrounded by the Estals(k), they danced about the sacred fire, singing, according to the religion of the ancient Persians, the love of Oromazes for his daughter Mithra before the beginning of time; the picture which she presented him, containing the ideas of all things; the production of innumerable worlds resembling those ideas: the birth of the pure Genii, appointed to inhabit these worlds; the revolt of Arimanius against the God Mythras; the origin of the chaos, and how it was reduced to order; the fall of spirits into mortal bodies; the labours of Mythras to raise them

(k) *Esta is a Chaldee word which signifies fire, and from thence comes the Greek word* Ἑστία. *The Romans add V to it and make it Vesta, as of* Ἑσπερα *they make Vesperа, Hyde Rel. Ant. Pers. cap.* 7.

again

again to the Empyreum; and lastly the total destruction of the evil Principle, who diffuses every where hatred, discord and the hellish passions.

The young Prince's happiness increased daily: The more he was acquainted with the mind and heart of Cassandana, the more he discovered there of those ever new and ever blooming charms which are not to be found in beauty alone. Neither marriage which often weakens the strongest passions, nor that almost invincible fondness for novelty, so universal in mankind, diminished in the least the mutual affection of these happy lovers.

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

SECOND BOOK.

THE Prince of Persia was so enamoured with Cassandana, and his thoughts were so entirely employed in furnishing amusements for her, that there was great reason to fear he would give himself up to an indolent life. He was daily inventing new shews and entertainments unknown before in Persia, and introduced all the diversions in vogue at the court of Ecbatan: He gave no attention to business, and even neglected military exercises: This kind of life exposed him continually to

be seduced by the discourses of the young Satrapes who were about him. The Gymnosophists were beginning at this time to spread abroad in Persia their pernicious doctrine concerning the two principles, which make men virtuous without merit, or vicious without fault, by the force of an invincible fatality. All the younger sort readily adopted this opinion because it favoured their passions: The deadly poison was stealing by degrees into the heart of Cyrus, and even Araspes helped to cherish in his breast these rising prejudices against religion.

On the borders of the Persian gulf there had been lately settled a famous school of Magi, whose doctrine was entirely opposite to these fatal errors. Cyrus had a taste and a genius which led him to the study of the sublimest sciences; and Hystaspes, without letting the Prince perceive his views, laid hold of this advantage to raise a desire in him of conversing with those Sages: As they never left their solitude, shunning the courts of Princes, and had little intercourse with other men, Cyrus resolved to go see them in their retreat.

He undertook this journey with Cassandana, accompanied by Hystaspes, Araspes, and several of the Persian nobles. They crossed the plain of Passagarda, travelled through the country of the Mardi and arrived upon the banks of the Arosis. They entered by a narrow pass into a large valley, incompassed with high mountains, the tops of which were covered with oaks, fir-trees and lofty cedars; Below were rich pastures, in which all sorts of cattle were feeding; the plain looked like a garden watered by many rivulets, which came from the rocks all around and emptied themselves into the Arosis. This river lost itself between two little hills, which, as they opened, presented to the view successive scenes of new objects, and discovered at distances fruitful fields, vast forests, and the Persian gulf, which bounded

ed the horizon. Cyrus and Caſſandana, as they advanced in the valley, were invited into a neighbouring grove by the ſound of harmonious muſick. There they beheld, by the ſide of a clear fountain, a great number of men of all ages, and over-againſt them a company of women, who formed a concert. They underſtood that it was the ſchool of the Magi, and were ſurprized to ſee, inſtead of auſtere, melancholy and thoughtful men, an agreeable and polite people.

Theſe Philoſophers looked upon muſick as ſomething heavenly, and proper to calm the paſſions, for which reaſon they always began and finiſhed the day by concerts (l). After they had given ſome little time in the morning to this exerciſe, they led their diſciples through delightful walks to the ſacred mountain, obſerving all the way a profound ſilence ; there they offered their homages to the Gods, rather by the voice of the heart, than of the lips. Thus by muſick, pleaſant walks and prayer, they prepared themſelves for the contemplation of truth, and put the ſoul into a ſerenity proper for meditation ; the reſt of the day was ſpent in ſtudy. Their only repaſt was a little before ſun ſet, at which time they ate nothing but bread, fruits, and ſome portion of what had been offered to the Gods, concluding all with concerts of muſick (m). Other men begin not the education of their children till after they are born, but the Magi ſeemed to do it before. While their wives were with child, they took care to keep them always in tranquillity, and a perpetual chearfulneſs, by ſweet and innocent amuſements, to the end that from the mother's womb the fruit might receive no impreſſions, but what were pleaſing, peaceful and agreeable to order.

Each Sage had his province in the empire of Philoſophy ; ſome ſtudied the virtues of plants, others

(l) *Strab. lib.* 17. (m) *Ibid.*

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the metamorphoſes of inſects; ſome again the conformation of animals, and others the courſe of the ſtars: But the aim of all their reſearches was to come to the knowledge of the Gods, and of themſelves. They ſaid, That the ſciences were no farther valuable than they ſerved as ſteps to aſcend to the great Oromazes, and from thence to deſcend to man. Though the love of truth was the only bond of ſociety among theſe Philoſophers, yet they were not without a head; they called him the Archimagus. He, who then poſſeſſed that honour, was named Zarduſt or Zoroaſter; he ſurpaſſed the reſt more in wiſdom than in age, for he was ſcarce fifty years old; nevertheleſs he was a conſummate maſter in all the ſciences of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and had even ſome knowledge of the religion of the Jews, whom he had ſeen at Babylon. Having obſerved the corruption which had crept in among the Magi, he had applied himſelf to reform their manners and their doctrine (n).

When Cyrus and Caſſandana entered into the grove, the aſſembly roſe up and worſhipped them, bowing themſelves to the earth, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt; and then retiring left them alone with Zoroaſter. This Philoſopher led them to a bower of myrtle, in the midſt of which was the ſtatue of a woman, which he had carved with his own hands. They all three ſat down in this place upon a ſeat of verdant turf, and Zoroaſter entertained the Prince and Princeſs with a diſcourſe of the life, manners and virtues of the Magi. While he was ſpeaking he frequently caſt a look upon the ſtatue, and as he beheld it his eyes were bathed in tears. Cyrus and Caſſandana obſerved his ſorrow at firſt with a reſpectful ſilence, but afterwards the Princeſs could not forbear aſking him the reaſon of it. That ſtatue,

(n) *Agathias de Zor. and Sir Iſaac Newton, Chron. p.* 348.

anſwered

anſwered he, is the ſtatue of Selima, who heretofore lov'd me, as you now love Cyrus. It is here that I come to ſpend my ſweeteſt and my bittereſt moments. In ſpite of wiſdom, which ſubmits me to the will of the Gods; in ſpite of the pleaſures I taſte in Philoſophy; in ſpite of the inſenſibility I am in, with regard to all human grandeur, the remembrance of Selima often renews my regrets and my tears. True virtue, tho' it regulates the paſſions, does not extinguiſh tender ſentiments. Theſe words gave Cyrus and Caſſandana a curioſity to know the hiſtory of Selima. The Philoſopher would have excuſed himſelf, but he had already betrayed his ſecret by the ſenſibility he had ſhewn, and could not go back without failing in due reſpect to perſons of ſuch high rank: having therefore wip'd away his tears he thus began his narration. I am not afraid of letting you know my weakneſs; but I ſhould avoid the recital I am going to make, if I did not foreſee that you may reap ſome uſeful inſtruction from it. I was born a Prince; my father was ſovereign of a little territory in the Indies, which is called the country of the Sophites. Having loſt my way one day when I was hunting, I chanced to ſee in the thick part of a wood a young maid, who was there repoſing herſelf. Her ſurpriſing beauty immediately ſtruck me; I became immoveable, and durſt not advance; I imagin'd ſhe was one of thoſe aerial ſpirits, who deſcend ſometimes from the throne of Oromazes, to conduct ſouls back to the Empyreum. Seeing herſelf alone with a man, ſhe fled, and took refuge in a temple that was near the foreſt. I durſt not follow her; but I learnt that her name was Selima, that ſhe was daughter of an old Brachman, who dwelt in that temple, and that ſhe was conſecrated to the worſhip of the fire. The Eſtals may quit celibacy and marry: but while they continue prieſteſſes of the fire, the laws are ſo ſevere among the Indians, that a father

father thinks it an act of religion to throw his daughter alive into the flames, ſhould ſhe ever fall from that purity of manners which ſhe has ſworn to preſerve.

My father was yet living, and I was not in a condition to force Selima from that aſylum; nay had I been King, Princes have no right in that country over perſons conſecrated to religion. However all theſe difficulties did but encreaſe my paſſion; and the violence of it quicken'd my ingenuity: I left my father's palace; I was young, a Prince, and I did not conſult reaſon. I diſguis'd myſelf in the habit of a girl, and went to the temple where the old Brachman lived. I deceiv'd him by a feign'd ſtory, and became one of the Eſtals, under the name of Amana. The King, my father, who was diſconſolate for my ſudden leaving him, order'd ſearch to be made for me every where, but to no purpoſe. Selima not knowing my ſex, conceiv'd a particular liking and friendſhip for me. I never left her; we paſs'd our lives together in working, reading, walking, and ſerving at the altars. I often told her fables and affecting ſtories, in order to paint forth the wonderful effects of friendſhip and of love. My deſign was to prepare her by degrees for the final diſcovery of my intentions. I ſometimes forgot myſelf while I was ſpeaking, and was ſo carried away by my vivacity, that ſhe often interrupted me, and ſaid, One would think, Amana, to hear you ſpeak, that you feel in this moment all that you deſcribe. I liv'd in this manner ſeveral months with her, and it was not poſſible for her to diſcover either my diſguiſe or my paſſion. As my heart was not corrupted, I had no criminal view; I imagin'd, that if I could engage her to love me, ſhe would forſake her ſtate of life to ſhare my crown with me: I was continually waiting for a favourable moment, to reveal to her my ſentiments; but alas! that moment never came.

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It was a cuſtom among the Eſtals, to go divers times in the year upon a high mountain, there to kindle the ſacred fire, and to offer ſacrifices: We all went up thither one day, accompanied only by the old Brachman. Scarce was the ſacrifice begun, when we were ſurrounded by a body of men, armed with bows and arrows, who carried away Selima and her father. They were all on horſeback; I followed them ſome time, but they entered into a wood, and I ſaw them no more. I did not return to the temple, but ſtole away from the Eſtals, changed my dreſs, took another diſguiſe, and forſook the Indies. I forgot my father, my country, and all my obligations; I wandered over all Aſia in ſearch of Selima: What cannot love do in a young heart given up to it's paſſion? One day, as I was croſſing the country of the Lycians, I ſtopt in a great foreſt to ſhelter myſelf from the exceſſive heat. I preſently ſaw a company of hunters paſs by, and a little after ſeveral women, among whom I thought I diſcovered Selima: She was in a hunting dreſs, mounted upon a proud courſer, and diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt by a coronet of flowers. She paſſed by me ſo ſwiftly, that I could not be ſure whether my conjectures were well founded; but I went ſtrait to the capital.

The Lycians were at that time governed by women, which form of government was eſtabliſhed among them upon the following occaſion. Some years ago the men became ſo effeminate during a long peace, that their thoughts were wholly taken up about their dreſs. They affected the diſcourſe, manners, maxims, and all the imperfections of women, without having either their ſweetneſs or their delicacy: and while they gave themſelves up to infamous lazineſs, the moſt abominable vices took the place of lovely paſſions; they deſpiſed the Lycian women, and treated them like ſlaves: A foreign

war

war came upon them; the men being grown cowardly and effeminate were not able to defend their country, they fled and hid themselves in caves and caverns; the women being accustomed to fatigue, by the slavery they had undergone, took arms, drove away the enemy, became mistresses of the country, and established themselves in authority by an immutable law. From that time the Lycians habituated themselves to this form of government, and found it the mildest and most convenient. Their Queens had a council of senators, who assisted them with their advice: The men proposed good laws, but the executive power was in the women. The sweetness and softness of the sex prevented all the mischiefs of tyranny; and the counsel of the wise senators qualified that inconstancy, with which women are reproached.

I understood that the mother of Selima having been dethroned by the ambition of a kinswoman, her first minister had fled to the Indies with the young Princess; that he had lived there several years as a Brachman, and she as an Estal; that this old man having always maintained a correspondence with the friends of the royal family, the young Queen had been restored to the throne after the death of the usurper; that she governed with the wisdom of a person who had experienced misfortunes; and lastly, that she had always expressed an invincible dislike to marriage. This news gave me an inexpressible joy; I thanked the Gods for having conducted me by such wonderful ways near the object of my heart; I implored their help, and promised never to love but once, if they would favour my passion.

I then considered by what method I should introduce myself to the Queen; and finding that war was the most proper, I entered into the service. There I distinguished myself very soon; for I refused

refuſed no fatigue, I avoided no danger, I ſought the moſt hazardous enterprizes. Upon a day of battle, on the ſucceſs of which the liberty of Lycia depended, the Carians put our troops into diſorder: 'Twas in a large plain, out of which there was but one narrow paſs for the fugitives to eſcape. I gained this paſs, and threatened to pierce with my javelin whoever ſhould attempt to force it. In this manner I rallied our troops, and returned to charge the enemy; I routed them and obtained a complete victory. This action drew the attention of all the army upon me: Nothing was ſpoken of but my courage; and all the ſoldiers called me the deliverer of their country. I was conducted to the Queen's preſence, who could not recollect me; for we had been ſeparated ſix years, and grief and fatigue had altered my features. She aſk'd me my name, my country, my family, and ſeem'd to examine my face with a more than common curioſity. I thought I diſcovered by her eyes an inward emotion, which ſhe endeavoured to hide. Strange capriciouſneſs of love! Heretofore I had thought her an Eſtal of mean birth; yet I had reſolved to ſhare my crown with her. This moment I conceived a deſign of engaging her to love me as I had lov'd her; I conceal'd my country and my birth, and told her, I was born in a village of Bactria, of a very obſcure family; upon this ſhe ſuddenly withdrew without anſwering me.

Not long after, ſhe gave me, by the advice of her ſenators, the command of the army; by which I had free acceſs to her perſon. She us'd frequently to ſend for me, under pretence of buſineſs, when ſhe had nothing to ſay; ſhe took a pleaſure in diſcourſing with me. I often painted forth my own ſentiments to her under borrowed names; the Greek and Egyptian Mythology, which I had learn'd in my travels, furniſhed me with abundant arguments to prove, that the Gods were heretofore enamour'd with mortals,

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and that love makes all conditions equal. I remember, that one day while I was relating to her a ſtory of this kind ſhe left me in a great emotion; I diſcover'd by that her hidden ſentiments; and it gave me an inexpreſſible pleaſure to find that ſhe then lov'd me as I had lov'd her. I had frequent converſation with her, by which her confidence in me daily increas'd: I ſometimes made her call to mind the misfortunes of her early youth; and ſhe then gave me an account of her living among the Eſtals, her friendſhip for Amana, and their mutual affection. Scarce was I able to contain myſelf when I heard her ſpeak; I was juſt ready to throw off my diſguiſe; but my falſe delicacy requir'd yet farther, that Selima ſhould do for me what I would have done for her. I was quickly ſatisfy'd; an extraordinary event made me experience all the extent and power of her love.

By the laws of Lycia the perſon who governs is not permitted to marry a ſtranger. Selima ſent for me one day, and ſaid to me: My ſubjects deſire that I would marry; go tell them from me, that I will conſent, upon condition that they leave me free in my choice. She ſpoke theſe words with a majeſtick air, and almoſt without looking upon me. At firſt I trembled, then flatter'd myſelf, then fell into doubt; for I knew the Lycians to be ſtrongly attach'd to their laws: I went nevertheleſs to execute the commands I had receiv'd. When the council was aſſembled I laid before them the Queen's pleaſure, and after much diſpute it was agreed, That ſhe ſhould be left free to chooſe herſelf a huſband. I carried Selima the reſult of their deliberation: She then directed me to aſſemble the troops in the ſame plain where I had obtained the victory over the Carians, and to hold myſelf ready to obey her farther orders: She likewiſe commanded all the principal men of the nation to repair to the ſame place. A magnificent throne being there erected, the Queen appear'd upon it

it encircled by her courtiers, and ſpoke to the aſſembly in the following manner: People of Lycia, ever ſince I began my reign I have ſtrictly obſerved your laws; I have appeared at the head of your armies, and have obtained ſeveral victories: My only ſtudy has been to make you free and happy. Is it juſt that ſhe who has been the preſerver of your liberty ſhould be herſelf a ſlave? Is it equitable that ſhe who continually ſeeks your happineſs ſhould be herſelf miſerable? There is no unhappineſs equal to that of doing violence to one's own heart. When the heart is under a conſtraint, grandeur and royalty ſerve only to give us a quicker ſenſe of our ſlavery. I demand therefore to be free in my choice.

This diſcourſe was applauded by the whole aſſembly, who immediately cried out, You are free, you are diſpenſed from the law. The Queen ſent me orders to advance at the head of the troops. As ſoon as I was come near the throne ſhe roſe up, and, pointing to me with her hand, There, ſaid ſhe, is my huſband; he is a ſtranger, but his ſervices make him the father of the country; he is not a Prince, but his merit puts him upon a level with Kings. She then ordered me to come up to her: I proſtrated myſelf at her feet, and took all the uſual oaths; I promiſed to renounce my country for ever, to look upon the Lycians as my children, and, above all, never to love any other than the Queen. After this ſhe ſtepped down from the throne, and we were conducted back to the capital with pomp, amidſt the acclamations of the people. As ſoon as we were alone, Ah Selima? ſaid I, have you then forgot Amana? 'Tis impoſſible to expreſs the Queen's ſurpriſe or the tranſport of affection and joy which theſe words gave her. She knew me, and conjectured all the reſt; I had no need to ſpeak, and we were both a long time ſilent: At length I told her my family, my adventures and all the effects that love had produced in me. She very

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ſoon aſſembled her council, and acquainted them with my birth; ambaſſadors were ſent to the Indies; I renounced my crown and country for ever, and my brother was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of my throne.

This was an eaſy ſacrifice; I was in poſſeſſion of Selima, and my happineſs was complete: But alas! this happineſs was of ſhort continuance. In giving myſelf up to my paſſion, I had renounced my country, I had forſaken my father whoſe only conſolation I was, I had forgot all my duty: My love, which ſeemed ſo delicate, ſo generous, and was the admiration of men, was not approved of by the Gods; accordingly they puniſhed me for it by the greateſt of all misfortunes; they took Selima from me, ſhe died within a few days after our marriage. I gave myſelf up to the moſt exceſſive ſorrow; but the Gods did not abandon me. I entered deeply into myſelf; wiſdom deſcended into my heart, ſhe opened the eyes of my underſtanding, and I then comprehended the admirable myſtery of the conduct of Oromazes. Virtue is often unhappy, and this ſhocks the reaſon of ſhort-ſighted men; but they are ignorant that the tranſient ſufferings of this life are deſigned by the Gods to expiate the ſecret faults of thoſe who appear the moſt virtuous. Theſe reflections determined me to conſecrate the reſt of my days to the ſtudy of wiſdom. Selima was dead, my bonds were broken, I was no longer tied to any thing in nature; the whole earth appeared to me a deſert; I could not reign in Lycia after the death of Selima, and I would not remain in a country where every thing continually renewed the remembrance of my loſs. I returned to the Indies, and went to live among the Brachmans, where I formed a new plan of happineſs. Being freed from that ſlavery which always accompanies grandeur, I eſtabliſhed within myſelf an empire over my paſſions and deſires, more glorious

and ſatisfactory than the falſe luſtre of royalty. But now notwithſtanding my retreat and the diſtance I was at, my brother conceiv'd a jealouſy of me, as if I had been ambitious of aſcending the throne, and I was obliged once more to leave the Indies. My exile prov'd a new ſource of happineſs to me; it depends upon ourſelves to reap advantage from misfortunes. I viſited the wiſe men of Aſia, and converſed with the Philoſohphers of different countries: I learn'd their laws and their religion and was charm'd to find, That the great men of all times, and of all places, had the ſame ideas of the divinity, and of morality. At laſt I came hither upon the banks of the Aroſis, where the Magi have choſen me for their head.

Here Zoroaſter ended; Cyrus and Caſſandana were too much affected to be able to ſpeak. After ſome moments of ſilence, the Philoſopher diſcours'd to them of the happineſs which faithful lovers enjoy in the empyreum when they meet again there; he then concluded with theſe wiſhes: May you long feel the happineſs of mutual and undivided love! May the Gods preſerve you from that depravity of heart which makes pleaſures loſe their reliſh when once they become lawful! May you, after the tranſports of a lively and pure paſſion in your younger years, experience in a more advanc'd age all the charms of that union which diminiſhes the pains of life, and augments it's pleaſures by ſharing them! May a long and agreeable old age let you ſee your diſtant poſterity multiplying the race of heroes upon earth! May at laſt one and the ſame day unite the aſhes of both, to exempt you from the misfortune of bewailing like me the loſs of what you love! My only comfort is the hope of ſeeing Selima again in the ſphere of fire, the pure element of love. Souls make acquaintance only here below; it is above that their union is conſummated. O Selima, Selima, we ſhall

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one day meet again, and our flame will be eternal: I know, that in thoſe ſuperior regions your happineſs will not be complete till I ſhall ſhare it with you; thoſe who have loved each other purely will love ſo for ever; true love is immortal.

The hiſtory which Zoroaſter had given of his own life made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Prince and Princeſs; it confirmed them in their mutual tenderneſs, and in their love of virtue; they ſpent ſome time with the ſage in his ſolitude before they returned to the court of Cambyſes. It was during this retreat that Zoroaſter initiated Cyrus into all the myſteries of the Eaſtern wiſdom. The Chaldeans, the Egyptians and the Gymnoſophiſts had a wonderful knowledge of nature, but they wrapped it up in allegorical fables: And this doubtleſs is the reaſon that venerable antiquity has been reproached with ignorance in natural philoſophy. Zoroaſter laid open before Cyrus the ſecrets of nature, not merely to gratify his curioſity, but to make him obſerve the marks of an infinite wiſdom diffuſed throughout the univerſe, and thereby to guard his mind againſt irreligion.

One while he made him admire the ſtructure of the human body, the ſprings of which it is compoſed, and the liquors that flow in it; the canals, the pumps and the baſons which are formed by the mere interweaving of the fibres, in order to ſeparate, purify, conduct and reconduct the liquids into all the extremities of the body; then the levers and the cords, formed by the bones and muſcles, in order to the various motions of the members. It is thus, ſaid the Philoſopher, that our body is a ſurpriſing contexture of tubes, branched out into endleſs diviſions and ſubdiviſions, which have a communication with one another, while different and ſuitable liquors are inſinuated into them, and are there prepared according to the rules of the moſt exact me-

chaniſm. An infinity of ſmall imperceptible ſprings, the conſtruction and motions of which we are ignorant of, are continually playing in our bodies; and it is therefore evident that nothing but a ſovereign intelligence could produce, adjuſt and preſerve ſo compounded, ſo delicate and ſo admirable a machine. The life of this machine depends on the freedom and amenity with which the liquids flow in the various canals; all our diſeaſes on the other hand proceed from the thickneſs of the liquids, which ſtopping in thoſe imperceptible veſſels choak them up, ſwell and relax them; or from the acrimony of the juices, which prick, disjoin and tare thoſe delicate fibres. Indolence occaſions the firſt, and intemperance the ſecond; for which reaſon the Perſian laws have wiſely enjoined ſobriety and exerciſe, as neceſſary to prevent the enfeebling both of the political and natural body.

At another time he explained to him the configuration of plants, and the transformation of inſects. They had not our optick glaſſes to magnify objects and bring them near; but the penetrating ſpirit of Zoroaſter ſaw farther than the eye can reach by their help; becauſe he was acquainted not only with all the experiments of the ancients and their traditions, but alſo with the occult (a) ſciences revealed by the Genii to the firſt men. Each ſeed, ſaid he, contains within it a plant of it's own ſpecies, this plant another ſeed, and this ſeed another little plant, and ſo on without end. Theſe organic molds cannot be formed by the ſimple laws of motion: They are the firſt production of the great Oromazes, who originally encloſed within each ſeed all the bodies to be derived from it. None but he alone could thus conceal innumerable wonders in a ſingle imperceptible atom. The growth of vegetables is but the unfolding

(a) *See Beerhaave Chem. p. 2, and 7.*

of the fibres, membranes and branches by the moisture of the earth, which in an admirable manner insinuates itself into them. Every plant has two sorts of pipes; the one filled with air are like lungs to it, the other filled with sap may be compared to arteries. In the day time the heat of the sun rarefies, swells and dilates the air contained in the first sort, so that they compress the other, and thereby break the particles of the sap, refine it and make it rise, in order to the production of leaves, flowers and fruits. The same air growing cool during the night is condensed and contracted, and no longer presses upon the alimentary tubes; so that these being opened and dilated receive the moisture of the earth, pregnant with salts, sulphurs and minerals, which the pressure of the atmosphere forces in through the roots: It is thus that the plants feed in the night and digest in the day; the neutritive sap being distributed through all the branches at length perspires, and spurting out of their small delicate pipes with an incredible force, forms an infinite number of *jets d'eau:* These spouts meet, mix, cross one another, and perhaps serve for an entertainment of the aerial Genii, before whom the wonders of nature lye all unvailed. One blade of grass presents more various and amazing objects to their view than all the water-works in the inchanted gardens of the King of Babylon. If poets were Philosophers, the bare description of nature would furnish them with more agreeable pictures than all their allegorical paintings; the poor resource of a hood-winked imagination, when reason does not lend it eyes to discern the beauty of the works of Oromazes. Zoroaster then shewed the Prince the trees, plants and roots, the gums, bitters and aromaticks which help to dissolve, attenuate and liquify our juices when they grow too thick; to pound, blunt and absorb the humours when too sharp; to fortify, repair and give a new tension to the fibres when

when weakened, torn and relaxed. Heroes were in former times Philoſophers, and conquerors were fond of knowing themſelves how to repair in part the miſchiefs occaſioned by their battles and victories.

After this the Philoſopher gave Cyrus a view of the wonderful art diſcoverable in the formation of inſects. Their eggs, ſaid he, ſcattered in the air, upon the earth, and in the waters, meet in each with proper receptacles, and wait only for a favourable ray of the ſun to hatch them. Sometimes they are worms crawling upon the earth; then fiſhes ſwimming in liquors; and at laſt they get wings, and riſe into the air. Theſe almoſt inviſible machines have in each of them numberleſs ſprings at work, which furniſh and prepare liquors ſuited to their wants. What mechaniſm, what art, what freſh and endleſs proofs have we here of an infinite wiſdom which produces all!

At another time, the Sage carried the thoughts of Cyrus up into the higher regions, to contemplate the various phænomena which happen in the air. He explained to him the wonderful qualities of this ſubtile and inviſible fluid which encompaſſes the earth in order to compreſs all the parts of it, keep each of them in it's proper place, and hinder them from diſuniting; how neceſſary it is to the life of animals, the growth of plants, the flying of birds, the forming of ſounds, and numberleſs other uſeful and important effects. This fluid, ſaid he, being agitated, heated, cooled again, compreſſed, dilated, one while by the rays of the ſun, or the ſubterraneous fires, ſometimes by the ſalts and ſulphurs which float in it, at other times by nitres which fix and congeal it, ſometimes by clouds which compreſs it, and often by other cauſes which deſtroy the equilibrium of it's parts, produces all ſorts of winds, the moſt impetuous of which ſerve to diſpel the

noxious vapours, and the ſofter breezes to temper the exceſſive heats. At other times the rays of the ſun, inſinuating themſelves into the little drops of dew which water the ſurface of the earth, rarefy them, and thereby make them lighter than the air; ſo that they aſcend into it, form vapours, and float there at different heights, according as they are more or leſs heavy. The ſun having drawn up theſe vapours loaded with ſulphur, minerals and different kinds of ſalts, they kindle in the air, put it into a commotion, and cauſe thunder and lightning. Other vapours that are lighter gather into clouds and float in the air; but when they become too heavy they fall in dews, ſhowers of rain, ſnow and hail, according as the air is more or leſs heated. Thoſe vapours which are daily drawn from the ſea, and carried in the air by the winds to the tops of mountains, fall there, ſoak into them, and meet in their inward cavities, where they encreaſe and ſwell till they find a vent, or force a paſſage, and ſo become plenteous ſprings of refreſhing water. By theſe are formed rivulets of which the ſmaller rivers are compoſed; and theſe latter again form the great rivers which return into the ſea to repair the loſs it had ſuffered by the ardent rays of the ſun. Thus it is that all the irregularities and intemperature of the elements which ſeem to deſtroy nature in one ſeaſon, ſerve to revive it in another: The immoderate heats of ſummer, and the exceſſive cold of winter, prepare the beauties of the ſpring, and the rich fruits of autumn. All theſe viciſſitudes, which ſeem to ſuperficial minds the effects of a fortuitous concourſe of irregular cauſes, are regulated according to weight and meaſure, by that ſovereign Wiſdom who weighs the earth as a grain of ſand, and the ſea as a drop of water.

Then Zoroaſter raiſed his thoughts to the ſtars, and explained to Cyrus how they all float in an active,

tive, uniform and infinitely ſubtile fluid, which fills and pervades all nature. This inviſible matter, ſaid he, does not act by the neceſſary law of a blind mechaniſm. It is, as it were, the (a) body of the great Oromazes, whoſe ſoul is truth. By the one he acts upon all bodies, and by the other he enlightens all ſpirits. His vivifying preſence gives activity to this pure æther, which becomes thereby the primary mechanical ſpring of all the motions in the heavens and upon the earth: It cauſes the fixed ſtars to turn upon their axes while it makes the planets circulate round thoſe ſtars; it tranſmits with an incredible velocity the light of thoſe heavenly bodies, as the air does ſounds; and it's vibrations as they are more or leſs quick produce the agreeable variety of colours, as thoſe of the air do the melodious notes of muſick. Laſtly, the fluidity of liquids, the coheſion of ſolids, the gravitation, elaſticity, attraction, and fermentation of bodies, the ſenſation of animals, and the vegetation of plants come all from the action of this exceedingly ſubtile (b) SPIRIT which

(a) *Thoſe who are unacquainted with the ſtile of antiquity imagine that Zoroaſter and Pythagoras make the Deity corporeal by this expreſſion, and that it gave occaſion to the error of the Stoicks, who believed the divine Eſſence an etherial matter; but the contrary is evident by the definitions which thoſe two philoſophers give of the Divinity. Diſp. p. 276. and p. 284, 285.) It ſeems to me, that by the body of God, they mean nothing more than what Sir Iſaac Newton expreſſes by theſe words; Deus ubique præſens voluntate ſua corpora omnia in infinito ſuo uniformi SENSORIO movet, adeóque cunctas mundi univerſi partes ad arbitrium ſuum fingit & refingit, multo magis quam anima noſtra voluntate ſuâ ad corporis noſtri membra movenda valet. Opt. p. 311.*

(b) *Theſe are the very words of Sir Iſaac Newton, Adjicere jam licet nonnulla de SPIRITU quodam SUBTILISSIMO corpora craſſa pervadente, & in iiſdem latente, cujus vi & actionibus particulæ corporum ad minimas diſtantias ſe mutuo ATTRAHUNT, & contiguæ factæ, COHÆRENT, & corpora ELECTRICA agunt ad diſtantias majores; &*

which diffuſes itſelf throughout all the immenſity of ſpace. The ſame ſimple cauſe produces numberleſs, and even contrary effects, yet without any confuſion in ſo infinite a variety of motions.

We are ſtruck with ſurprize, continued the Philoſopher, to ſee all the wonders of nature, which diſcover themſelves to our ſhort and feeble ſight; but how great would be our amazement, if we could tranſport ourſelves into thoſe ætherial ſpaces, and paſs through them with a rapid flight? Each ſtar would appear an atom in compariſon of the immenſity with which it is ſurrounded: What would our wonder be, if deſcending afterwards upon earth, we could accommodate our eyes to the minuteneſs of objects, and purſue the ſmalleſt grain of ſand through it's infinite diviſibility? Each atom would appear a world, in which we ſhould doubtleſs diſcover new beauties. There is nothing great, nothing little in itſelf; both the GREAT and the LITTLE diſappear by turns to preſent every where an image of infinity through all the works of Oromazes. What a folly is it then to go about to explain the (c) original of things by the mere laws of matter and motion? The univerſe is the work of the great Oromazes; he preſerves and governs it by general laws, but

LUX emittitur, reflectitur, refringitur, inflectitur, & calefacit; & SENSATIO omnis excitatur, & MEMBRA ANIMALIUM ad voluntatem moventur. He never denied a ſubtile matter in this ſenſe, and it is in this ſenſe that I always underſtand it. See Diſc. p. 288.

(a) *Philoſophiæ naturalis id reverà præcipuum eſt & officium & finis ut ex phænomenis ſine fictis hypotheſibus arguamus, & ab effectis ratiocinatione progrediamur ad cauſas, donec ad ipſum demum perveniamus cauſam primam, quæ ſine omni dubio mechanica non eſt . . . . atque his quidem ritè expeditis, ex phænomenis conſtabit eſſe Entem incorporeum viventem, intelligentem omnipræſentem qui in ſpatio infinito tanquam Senſorio ſuo res ipſas intimè cernat, penitùs perſpiciat, totaſque intra ſe præſentes complectatur. Newt. Opt. p. 273.*

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theſe laws are free, arbitrary, and even diverſified in the different regions of immenſity, according to the effects he would there produce, and the various relations he would eſtabliſh between bodies and ſpirits. It is from him that every thing flows; it is in him that every thing exiſts; it is by him that every thing lives; and to him alone ſhould all things be referred. Without him all nature is an inexplicable ænigma; with him the mind conceives every thing poſſible, even at the ſame time that it is ſenſible of it's own ignorance and narrow limits.

Cyrus was charmed with this inſtruction; new worlds ſeemed to be unvailed before him; where have I lived, ſaid he, till now? The ſimpleſt objects contain wonders which eſcape my ſight: Every thing bears the mark of an infinite wiſdom and power. The great Oromazes, ever preſent to his work, gives to all bodies their forms and their motions, to all ſpirits their reaſon and their virtues: He beholds them all in his immenſity; he governs them, not by any neceſſary laws of mechaniſm; he makes and he changes the laws by which he rules them, as it beſt ſuits with the deſigns of his juſtice and goodneſs.

While Cyrus was thus entertained with the converſation of Zoroaſter, Caſſandana aſſiſted, with the wives of the Magi, in celebrating the feſtival of the Goddeſs Mythra. The ancient Perſians adored but one ſole ſupreme Deity, but they conſidered the God Mythras and the Goddeſs Mythra, ſometimes as two emanations from his ſubſtance, and at other times as the firſt productions of his power. Every day was ſacred to the great Oromazes, becauſe he was never to be forgotten: But the feſtival of the Goddeſs Mythra was obſerved only towards the end of the ſpring, and that of Mythras about the beginning of autumn. During the firſt, which laſted ten days, the women performed all the prieſtly

functions, and the men did not assist at it; as on the other hand the women were not admitted to the celebration of the last. This separation of the two sexes was thought necessary, in order to preserve the soul from all imaginations which might profane it's joys in these solemn festivals.

The ancient Persians had neither temples nor altars; they sacrificed upon high mountains and eminences; nor did they use libations, or musick, or hallowed bread. Zoroaster had made no change in the old rites, except by the introduction of musick into divine worship. At break of day all the wives of the Magi being crowned with myrtle and clothed in long white robes, walked two and two with a slow grave pace to the mount of Mythra; they were followed by their daughters clad in fine linen and leading the victims adorned with wreaths of all colours. The summit of the hill was a plain covered with a sacred wood; several vistas were cut through it, and all centered in a great circus, which had been turned into a delightful garden. In the middle of this garden there sprang a fountain, whose compliant waters took all the forms which art was pleased to give them. After many windings and turnings these crystal streams crept on to the declivity of the hill, and there falling down in a rapid torrent from rock to rock frothed and foamed, and at length lost themselves in a deep river which ran at the foot of the sacred mount.

When the procession arrived at the place of sacrifice two sheep white as snow were led to the brink of the fountain; and while the priestess offered the victims the choir of women struck their lyres, and the young virgins joined their voices singing this sacred hymn. 'Oromazes is the first 'of incorruptible natures, eternal, unbegotten, self-'sufficient, of all that's excellent most excellent, the 'wisest of all intelligences; he beheld himself in

'the

'the mirror of his own ſubſtance, and by that view 'produced the Goddeſs Mythra, Mythra the living 'image of his beauty, the original mother and the 'immortal virgin; ſhe preſented him the ideas of 'all things, and he gave them to the God Mythras 'to form a world reſembling thoſe ideas. Let us 'celebrate the wiſdom of Mythra, let us do her 'homage by our purity and our virtues, rather than 'by our ſongs and praiſes.' During this act of adoration, three times the muſic pauſed, to denote by a profound ſilence that the divine Nature tranſcends whatever our words can expreſs. The hymn being ended, the prieſteſs lighted by the rays of the ſun a fire of odoriferous wood, and while ſhe there conſumed the hearts of the ſheep, ſang alone with a loud voice, 'Mythra deſires only the ſoul of the 'victim.' Then the remainder of the ſacrifice was dreſt for a public feaſt, of which they all ate ſitting on the brink of the ſacred fountain, where they quenched their thirſt. During the repaſt twelve young virgins ſang the ſweets of friendſhip, the charms of virtue, the peace, innocence and ſimplicity of a rural life.

After this regale the mothers and daughters all aſſemble upon a large green plot encompaſſed with lofty trees whoſe ſhady tops and leafy branches were a defence againſt the ſcorching heat of the ſun and the blaſts of the north wind: Here they diverted themſelves with dancing, running and concerts of muſic. Then they repreſented the exploits of heroes, the virtues of heroins, and the pure pleaſures of the primæval ſtate before Arimanius invaded the empire of Oromazes, and inſpired mortals with deceitful hopes, falſe joys, perfidious diſguſts, credulous ſuſpicions, and the inhuman extravagancies of profane love. Theſe ſports being over, they diſperſed themſelves about the garden, and by way of refreſhment bathed themſelves in the

waters. Towards ſun-ſet they deſcended the hill and joined the Magi, who led them to the mountain of Oromazes, there to perform the evening ſacrifice; the victims which were offered ſerved every family for ſupper (for they had two repaſts on feſtival days) and they chearfully paſſed the time till ſleepineſs called them to reſt.

It was in this manner that Caſſandana amuſed herſelf, while Zoroaſter was diſcovering to Cyrus all the beauties of the univerſe, and thereby preparing his mind for matters of a more exalted nature, the doctrines of religion. The Philoſopher at length conducted the Prince with Hyſtaſpes and Araſpes into a gloomy and ſolitary foreſt, where perpetual ſilence reigned, and where the attention could not be diverted by any ſenſible object, and then ſaid: It is not to enjoy the pleaſures of ſolitude that we thus forſake the ſociety of men; to retire from the world in that view would be only to gratify a trifling indolence, unworthy the character of wiſdom: But the aim of the Magi in this retreat is to diſengage themſelves from matter, riſe to the contemplation of cœleſtial things, and commence an intercourſe with the pure ſpirits, who diſcover to them all the ſecrets of nature When mortals have gained a complete victory over all the paſſions they are thus favoured by the great Oromazes: It is however but a very ſmall number of the moſt purified ſages who have enjoyed this privilege. Impoſe ſilence upon your ſenſes, raiſe your mind above all viſible objects, and liſten to what the Gymnoſophiſts have learned by their commerce with the Genii. Here he was ſilent for ſome time, ſeemed to collect himſelf inwardly, and then continued.

In the ſpaces of the empyreum a pure and divine fire expands itſelf; by means of which, not only bodies but ſpirits become viſible. (d) In the midſt of

(d) *See the Diſc. p.* 293, 294.

this

this immenſity is the great Oromazes, firſt principle of all things. He diffuſes himſelf every where; but it is there that he is manifeſted after a more glorious manner. Near him is ſeated the God Mythras, or the ſecond (e) Spirit, and under him Pſyche, or the Goddeſs Mythra: around their throne in the firſt rank are the Jyngas, the moſt ſublime intelligences; in the lower ſpheres are an endleſs number of Genii of all the different orders.

Arimanius chief of the Jyngas aſpired to an equality with the God Mythras, and by his eloquence perſuaded all the ſpirits of his order to diſturb the univerſal harmony, and the peace of the heavenly monarchy. How exalted ſoever the Genii are, they are always finite, and conſequently may be dazzled and deceived. Now the love of one's own excellence is the moſt delicate and moſt imperceptible kind of deluſion. To prevent the other Genii from falling into the like crime, and to puniſh thoſe audacious ſpirits, Oromazes only withdrew his rays, and immediately the ſphere of Arimanius became a chaos and a perpetual night, in which diſcord, hatred, confuſion, anarchy and force alone prevail. Thoſe etherial ſubſtances would have eternally tormented themſelves, if Oromazes had not mitigated their miſeries; he is never cruel in his puniſhments, nor acts from a motive of revenge, for it is unworthy of his nature; he had compaſſion on their condition, and lent Mythras his power to diſſipate the chaos. Immediately the mingled and jarring atoms were ſeparated, the elements diſintangled and ranged in order. In the midſt of the abyſs was amaſſed together an ocean of fire, which we now

(e) Νῶς δεύτερος, *'tis thus that Mythras is called in the oracles which paſs under Zoroaſter's name. Doubtleſs they are not genuine; but they contain the moſt ancient traditions, and the ſtile of the Eaſtern theology, according to Pſellus, Pletho, Plotinus and all the Platoniſts of the third century.*

call the ſun; it's brightneſs is but obſcurity, when compared with that pure æther which illuminates the empyreum. Seven globes of an opaque ſubſtance roll about this flaming centre, to borrow it's light. The ſeven Genii, who were the chief miniſters and companions of Arimanius, together with all the inferior ſpirits of his order, became the inhabitants of theſe new worlds, which the Greeks call Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the Moon, and the Earth. The ſlothful, gloomy and malicious Genii, who love ſolitude and darkneſs, hate ſociety, and for ever pine in a faſtidious diſcontent, retired into Saturn. From hence flow all black and miſchievous projects, perfidious treaſons, and murderous devices. In Jupiter dwell the impious and learned Genii, who broach monſtrous errors, and endeavour to perſuade men that the univerſe is not governed by an eternal Wiſdom; that the great Oromazes is not a luminous principle, but a blind nature, which by a continual agitation within itſelf produces an eternal revolution of forms. In Mars are the Genii who are enemies of peace, and blow up every where the fire of diſcord, inhuman vengeance, implacable anger, diſtracted ambition, falſe heroiſm, inſatiable of conquering what it cannot govern, furious diſpute which ſeeks dominion over the underſtanding, would oppreſs where it cannot convince, and is more cruel in it's tranſports than all the other vices. Venus is inhabited by the impure Genii, whoſe affected graces and unbridled appetites are without taſte, friendſhip, noble or tender ſentiments, or any other view than the enjoyment of pleaſures which engender the moſt fatal calamities. In Mercury are the weak minds, ever in uncertainty, who believe without reaſon, and doubt without reaſon; the enthuſiaſts and the free-thinkers, whoſe credulity and incredulity proceed equally from a diſordered imagination:

It

It dazzles the ſight of ſome, ſo that they ſee that which is not; and it blinds others in ſuch a manner, that they ſee not that which is. In the Moon dwell the humourſom, fantaſtick and capricious Genii, who will and will not, who hate at one time what they loved exceſſively at another; and who by a falſe delicacy of ſelf-love are ever diſtruſtful of themſelves and of their beſt friends.

All theſe Genii regulate the influence of the ſtars. They are ſubject to the Magi, whoſe call they obey, and diſcover to them all the ſecrets of nature. Theſe ſpirits had all been voluntary accomplices of Arimanius's crime. There yet remained a number of all the ſeveral kinds who had been carried away through weakneſs, inadvertency, levity and (if I may venture ſo to ſpeak) friendſhip for their companions. Of all the Genii theſe were of the moſt limited capacities, and conſequently the leaſt criminal. Oromazes had compaſſion on them, and made them deſcend into mortal bodies; they retain no remembrance of their former ſtate, or of their ancient happineſs; it is from this number of Genii that the Earth is peopled, and it is hence that we ſee here minds of all characters. The God Mythras is inceſſantly employed to cure, purify and exalt them, that they may be capable of their firſt felicity. Thoſe who follow virtue fly away after death into the empyreum, where they are re-united to their origin. Thoſe who debaſe themſelves by vice, ſink deeper and deeper into matter, fall ſucceſſively into the bodies of the meaneſt animals, and run through a perpetual circle of new forms, till they are purged of their crimes by the pains which they undergo. The evil principle will confound every thing for nine thouſand years; but at length there will come a time, fixed by deſtiny, when Arimanius will be totally deſtroyed and exterminated; the Earth will change it's form, univerſal harmony will be reſtored,

and

and men will live happy without any bodily want. Until that time Oromazes repoſes himſelf, and Mythras combats; this interval ſeems long to mortals, but, to a God, it is only as a moment of ſleep.

Cyrus was ſeized with aſtoniſhment at the hearing of theſe ſublime things, and turning to Araſpes ſaid to him: What we have been taught hitherto of Oromazes, Mythras and Arimanius, of the contention between the good and the evil Principle, of the revolutions which have happened in the higher ſpheres, and of ſouls precipitated into mortal bodies, was mixed with ſo many abſurd fictions, and wrapped up in ſuch impenetrable obſcurity, that we looked upon thoſe doctrines as vulgar and contemptible notions unworthy of the eternal Being. I ſee now that we confounded the abuſes of thoſe principles with the principles themſelves, and that a contempt for religion can proceed only from ignorance. All flows out from the Deity and all muſt be abſorbed in him again. I am then a ray of light emitted from it's principle, and I am to return to it. O Zoroaſter, you put within me a new and inexhauſtible ſource of pleaſures; adverſities may hereafter diſtreſs me, but they will never overwhelm me; all the misfortunes of life will appear to me as tranſient dreams; all human grandeur vaniſhes; I ſee nothing great but to imitate the immortals, that I may enter again after death into their ſociety. O my father, tell me by what way it is that heroes re-aſcend to the empyreum. How joyful am I, replied Zoroaſter, to ſee you reliſh theſe truths; you will one day have need of them. Princes are oftentimes ſurrounded by impious and profane men, who reject every thing that would be a reſtraint upon their paſſions; they will endeavour to make you doubt of eternal Providence, from the miſeries and diſorders which happen here below;

below; they know not that the whole earth is but a ſingle wheel of the great machine; their view is confined to a ſmall circle of objects, and they ſee nothing beyond it, yet they will diſpute and pronounce upon every thing; they judge of nature and of it's author like a man born in a deep cavern who has never ſeen the beauties of the univerſe, nor even the objects that are about him, but by the faint light of a dim taper. Yes, Cyrus, the harmony of the univerſe will be one day reſtored, and you are deſtined to that ſublime ſtate of immortality; but you can riſe to it only by virtue; and the great virtue for a Prince is to make other men happy.

Theſe diſcourſes of Zoroaſter made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of Cyrus; he would have ſtaid much longer with the Magi in their ſolitude, if his duty had not called him back to his father's court. Scarce was he returned thither when every body perceived a wonderful change in his diſcourſe and behaviour. His converſation with the Archimagus had ſtifled his riſing prejudices againſt religion. He gradually removed from about him all the young Satrapes who were fond of the principles of impiety. Upon looking nearly into their characters he diſcovered not only that their hearts were corrupt, void of all noble and generous ſentiments, and incapable of friendſhip; but that they were men of very ſuperficial underſtandings, full of levity and little qualified for buſineſs. He then applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of the laws and of politicks; the other ſciences were but little cultivated in Perſia. A ſad misfortune obliged him at length to leave his country and travel: Caſſandana died, though in the flower of her age, after ſhe had brought him two ſons and two daughters.

None

None but thoſe who have experienced the force of true love, founded upon virtue, can imagine the diſconſolate condition of Cyrus. In loſing Caſſandana, he loſt all. Taſte, reaſon, pleaſure and duty had all united to augment his paſſion for her: In loving her he had experienced all the charms of love, without knowing either it's pains, or the diſguſts with which it is often attended: he felt the greatneſs of his loſs, and refuſed all conſolation. It is not the ſudden revolutions in ſtates, nor the heavieſt ſtrokes of adverſe fortune, which oppreſs the minds of heroes; noble and generous ſouls are little moved by any misfortunes but what concern the objects of their ſofter paſſions. Cyrus at firſt gave himſelf wholly up to grief, not to be alleviated by weeping or complaining; this ſilent ſorrow was at length ſucceeded by a torrent of tears. Mandana and Araſpes, who never left him, endeavoured to comfort him no other way than by weeping with him. Reaſoning and perſuaſion furniſh no cure for grief; nor can friendſhip yield relief in affliction but by ſharing it. After he had long continued in this dejection, he returned to ſee Zoroaſter, who had formerly ſuffered a miſfortune of the ſame kind. The converſation of that great man contributed much to mollify the anguiſh of his mind; but it was only by degrees that he recovered himſelf, and not till he had travelled for ſome years.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

THIRD BOOK.

THE empire of the Medes was at this time in a profound peace. Cambyſes being ſenſible of the danger to which he muſt expoſe his ſon, ſhould he ſend him again to the court of Ecbatan, and thinking that Cyrus could not better employ the preſent ſeaſon of tranquillity, than in travelling to learn the manners, laws and religions of other nations, he ſent for him one day, and ſaid to him: You are deſtined by the great Oromazes to ſtretch your conqueſts over all Aſia; you ought to put yourſelf into a condition to make thoſe nations happy by your wiſdom, which you ſhall ſubdue by your valour. I deſign therefore that you ſhall travel into Egypt which is the mother of the ſciences, paſs thence into Greece where are many famous republicks, go afterwards into Crete to ſtudy the laws of Minos, and return at laſt by Babylon, that ſo you may bring back into your own country all the kinds of knowledge neceſſary to poliſh the minds of your ſubjects, and to make you capable of accompliſhing your high deſtiny. Your ſtay in this place ſerves only to nouriſh your grief; every object here quickens the melancholy remembrance

brance of your loſs. Go, my ſon, go ſee and ſtudy human nature under all it's different forms; this little corner of the earth, which we call our country, is too ſmall and imperfect a picture to form thereby a true and adequate judgment of mankind.

Cyrus obeyed his father's orders, and very ſoon left Perſia, accompanied by his friend Araſpes. Two faithful ſlaves were all his attendants, for he deſired to travel unknown. He went down the river Agradatus, embarked upon the Perſian gulf, and ſoon arrived at the port of Gerra, upon the coaſt of Arabia Felix. Thence he continued his way towards the city of (f) Macorabia. The ſerenity of the ſky, the mildneſs of the climate, the perfumes which embalmed the air, the variety, fruitfulneſs and ſmiling appearance of nature in every part, charmed all his ſenſes. While Cyrus was unweariedly admiring the beauties of the country, he ſaw a man walking with a grave and ſlow pace, and who ſeemed buried in ſome profound thought. He was already come near the Prince, without having perceived him. Cyrus interrupted his meditation to aſk him the way to Badeo, where he was to embark for Egypt.

Amenophis (for that was his name) ſaluted the travellers with great civility, and having repreſented to them, that the day was too far ſpent to continue their journey, hoſpitably invited them to his rural habitation. He led them through a by-way to a little hill not far off, where he had formed with his own hands ſeveral ruſtick grotto's. A ſpring, which roſe in the ſide of the hill, watered with it's ſtream a little garden at ſome diſtance, and formed a rivulet, whoſe ſweet murmur was the only noiſe that

(f) *The preſent Mecca, a place which has ever been eſteemed holy by the Arabians.*

was

was heard in this abode of peace and tranquillity. Amenophis ſet before his gueſts ſome dried fruits of all ſorts, the clear water of the ſpring ſerving them for drink, and he entertained them with agreeable converſation during their repaſt. An unaffected and ſerene joy dwelt upon his countenance; his diſcourſe was full of good ſenſe, and of noble ſentiments, and he had all the politeneſs of a man educated at the courts of Kings. Cyrus obſerving this, was curious to know the cauſe of his retirement; and in order to engage Amenophis to the greater freedom, he diſcovered to him who he was, and the deſign of his travels; he then intimated to him his deſire, but with that modeſt reſpect which one ought to have for the ſecret of a ſtranger. Amenophis underſtanding that his gueſt was the Prince of Perſia, immediately received hopes of improving this acquaintance to the advantage of his maſter, Apries King of Egypt; he made no delay therefore to ſatisfy the Prince's curioſity, and endeavoured to move him by the hiſtory of his life and misfortunes, which he related in the following manner.

Though the family from which I am deſcended be one of the ancienteſt in Egypt, nevertheleſs by the ſad viciſſitude of human things our branch of it fell into great poverty. My father lived near Dioſpolis, a city of Upper-Egypt, and cultivated his little paternal farm with his own hands; he bred me up to reliſh true pleaſures in the ſimplicity of a country life, to place my happineſs in the ſtudy of wiſdom, and to make agriculture, hunting and the liberal arts my ſweeteſt occupations. It was the cuſtom of King Apries, from time to time to make a progreſs through the different provinces of his kingdom. One day as he paſſed through a foreſt near the place where I lived, he perceived me under the ſhade of a palm-tree, where I was reading the ſacred books of Hermes. I was then but

ſixteen

ſixteen years of age; my youth and ſomething in my air drew the King's attention; he came up to me, aſked me my name, my condition, and what I was reading; being pleaſed with my anſwers, and having my father's conſent, he ordered me to be conducted to his court, where he neglected nothing in my education. The liking which Apries had for me changed by degrees into a confidence, which ſeemed to augment in proportion as I advanced in years; and my heart was full of affection and gratitude. Being young, and without experience, I thought that Princes were capable of friendſhip; and I did not know that the Gods have refuſed them that ſweet conſolation.

After having attended him in his wars againſt the Sidonians and Cyprians, I became his only favourite; he communicated to me the moſt important ſecrets of the ſtate, and honoured me with the chief poſts about his perſon. I never loſt the remembrance of that obſcurity from whence the King had drawn me: I did not forget that I had been poor, and I was afraid of being rich. Thus I preſerved my integrity in the midſt of grandeur, and I went from time to time to ſee my father in Upper-Egypt, of which I was governor. I viſited with pleaſure the grove where Apries had found me: Bleſt ſolitude, ſaid I within myſelf, where I firſt learned the maxims of true wiſdom! How unhappy ſhall I be, if I forget the innocence and ſimplicity of my firſt years, when I felt no miſtaken deſires, and was unacquainted with the objects that excite them. I was often tempted to quit the court, and ſtay in this charming ſolitude; it was doubtleſs a pre-ſentiment of what was to happen to me, for Apries ſoon after ſuſpected my fidelity.

(a) Amaſis, who owed me his fortune, endeavoured

(a) *See Herodotus, lib. 1. and 2.*

to

to inſpire him with this diſtruſt; he was a man of mean birth, but great bravery; he had all ſorts of talents, both natural and acquired, but the hidden ſentiments of his heart were corrupt: When a man has wit and parts, and eſteems nothing ſacred, it is eaſy for him to gain the favour of princes. Suſpicion was far from my heart; I had no diſtruſt of a man whom I had loaded with benefits; and the more eaſily to betray me, he concealed himſelf under the vail of a profound diſſimulation. Tho' I could not reliſh groſs flattery, I was not inſenſible to delicate praiſe; Amaſis ſoon perceived my weakneſs, and artfully made his advantage of it; he affected a candour, a nobleneſs of ſoul, and a diſintereſtedneſs which charmed me; in a word, he gained my confidence to ſuch a degree, that he was to me the ſame that I was to the King. I preſented him to Apries, as a man very capable of ſerving him; and it was not long before he was allowed a free acceſs to the Prince.

The King had great qualities, but he would govern by his arbitrary will; he had already freed himſelf from all ſubjection to the laws, and hearkened no longer to the council of the thirty judges. My love for truth would not always ſuffer me to follow the rules of ſtrict prudence, and my attachment to the King led me often to ſpeak to him in too ſtrong terms, and with too little management. I perceived by degrees his coldneſs to me, and the confidence he was beginning to have in Amaſis. Far from being alarmed at it, I rejoiced at the riſe of a man, whom I thought not only my friend, but zealous for the public good. Amaſis often ſaid to me, with a ſeemingly ſincere concern; I can taſte no pleaſure in the Prince's favour ſince you are deprived of it. No matter, anſwered I, who does the good, provided it be done.

About this time all the principal cities of Upper Egypt addreſſed their complaints to me upon the extraordinary

traordinary subsidies which the King exacted; and I wrote circular letters to pacify the people. Amasis caused these letters to be intercepted, and counterfeiting exactly my hand-writing, sent others in my name to the inhabitans of Diospolis, my native city, in which he told them, That if I could not gain the King by persuasion, I would put myself at their head, and oblige him to treat them with more humanity. These people were naturally inclined to rebellion; and believing that I was the author of those letters, imagined they were in a secret treaty with me. Amasis carried on this correspondence in my name for several months. At length, thinking that he had sufficient proofs, he went and threw himself at the Prince's feet, laid open to him the pretended conspiracy, and shewed him the forged letters.

I was immediately arrested, and put into a close prison; the day was fixed when I was to be executed in a public manner. Amasis came to see me; at first he seemed doubtful and uncertain what he should think, suspended in his judgment by the knowledge he had of my virtue, yet shaken by the evidence of the proofs, and much affected with my misfortune. After having discoursed with him some time, he seemed convinced of my innocence, promised me to speak to the Prince, and to endeavour to discover the authors of the treachery. The more effectually to accomplish his black designs, he went to the King, and by faintly endeavouring to engage him to pardon me, made him believe that he acted more from gratitude and compassion for a man to whom he owed all, than from a conviction of my innocence. Thus he artfully confirmed him in the persuasion of my being criminal; and the King being naturally suspicious was inexorable.

The report of my perfidiousness being spread throughout all Egypt, the people of the different provinces flocked to Sais, to see the tragical spectacle which

which was preparing; but when the fatal day came, several of my friends appeared at the head of a numerous crowd, and delivered me by force from the death which was ordained me; the King's troops made some resistance at first, but the multitude increased, and declared for me. It was then in my power to have caused the same revolution which Amasis has done since; nevertheless I made no other use of this happy conjuncture, than to justify myself to Apries. I sent one of my deliverers to assure him, that his injustice did not make me forget my duty; and that my only design was to convince him of my innocence. He ordered me to come to him at his palace; which I might safely do, the people being under arms, and surrounding it. I found Amasis with him: This perfidious man, continuing his dissimulation, ran to meet me with eagerness, and presenting me to the King: How joyful am I, said he to him, to see, that the conduct of Amenophis leaves you no room to doubt of his fidelity! I see very well, answered Apries coldly, that he does not aspire to the throne, and I forgive him his desire of bounding my authority, in order to please his countrymen. I answered the King, that I was innocent of the crime imputed to me, and was ignorant of the author of it. Amasis then endeavoured to make the suspicion fall upon the King's best friends, and most faithful servants. I perceived that the Prince's mind was not cured of his distrust, and therefore to prevent any new accusations, having first persuaded the people to disperse themselves, I retired from court, and returned to my former solitude, whither I carried nothing back but my innocence and poverty. Apries sent troops to Diospolis, to prevent an insurrection there, and ordered that my conduct should be observed. Doubtless he imagined, that I should never be able to confine myself to a quiet and retired life, after having been in the highest employments.

In

In the mean while Amasis gained an absolute ascendant over the King's mind; this favourite made him suspect and banish his best friends, in order to remove from about the throne those who might hinder the usurpation which he was projecting. An occasion very soon offered to put his wicked designs in execution.

(a) The Cyrenians, a colony of Greeks who were settled in Africa, having taken from the Lybians a great part of their lands, the latter submitted themselves to Apries, in order to obtain his protection. The King of Egypt sent a great army into Lybia, to make war against the Cyrenians. This army, in which were many of those malecontents whom Amasis was solicitous to remove from court, being cut in pieces, the Egyptians imagined that the King had sent it thither only to be destroyed, that he might reign the more despotically. This thought provoked them, and a league was formed in Lower-Egypt, which rose up in Arms. The King sent Amasis to them to quiet them, and make them return to their duty; and then it was that the designs of this perfidious minister broke out. Instead of pacifying them, he incensed them more and more, put himself at their head, and was proclaimed King. The revolt became universal; Apries was obliged to leave Sais, and make his escape into Upper Egypt. He retired to Diospolis, where I prevailed upon the inhabitants to forget the injustices he had done them, and to succour him in his misfortunes. All the time that he continued there, I had free access to his person; but I carefully avoided saying any thing which might recal to his mind the disgraces he had made me undergo.

Apries soon fell into a deep melancholy; that haughty spirit, which had been so vain as to imagine

(a) *See Herodotus, lib.* 1. *and* 2.

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it was not in the power of the Gods themſelves to dethrone him, could not ſupport adverſity; that Prince, ſo renowned for his bravery, had not true fortitude of ſoul; he had a thouſand and a thouſand times deſpiſed death, but he could not contemn fortune. I endeavoured to calm and ſupport his mind, and to remove from it thoſe melancholy ideas which overwhelmed him. I frequently read to him the books of Hermes; he was particularly ſtruck with that famous paſſage: 'When the great Oſiris loves 'Princes, he pours into the cup of fate a mixture 'of good and ill, that they may not forget that they 'are men.' Theſe reflections alleviated by degrees his vexations; and I felt an unſpeakable pleaſure in ſeeing that he began to reliſh virtue, and that it gave him inward peace in the midſt of his misfortunes. He then applied himſelf with vigour and courage, to get out of the unhappy ſituation into which he was fallen. He got together all his faithful ſubjects who had followed him in his exile; and theſe, being joined by the inhabitants of the country whom I engaged in his ſervice, formed an army of fifteen thouſand men. We marched againſt the uſurper, and gave him battle near Memphis; but being overpowered by the enemy's numbers, we were entirely defeated. Apries eſcaped to the mountains of Upper Egypt, with the remains of his ſhattered troops; but as for me I was taken with a crowd of other priſoners, and without being known confined in a high tower at Memphis. When Amaſis had put gariſons in all the cities of Upper Egypt, and had given directions to guard the paſſes into the mountains in order to ſhut up Apries there, and deſtroy him by famine, he returned in triumph to Sais.

The uſurper, by the favour and protection of Nabuchodonoſor King of Babylon, was ſoon after ſolemnly crowned, but on condition that Egypt ſhould be tributary to that conqueror. Scarce were the

people quieted, when they gave way to that inconſtancy which is natural to the multitude; they began to deſpiſe the new King for his mean birth, and to murmur againſt him: But this able politician ſucceſsfully made uſe of his addreſs to pacify them and prevent a revolt. The Kings of Egypt were wont to invite their courtiers to ſolemn feaſts, and on theſe occaſions the gueſts waſhed their hands with the King in a golden ciſtern kept always for that uſe; Amaſis cauſed this ciſtern to be made into a ſtatue of Serapis, and expoſed it to be worſhiped; he was overjoyed to ſee with what eagerneſs the people ran from all parts to pay their homage to it, and having aſſembled the Egyptians, harangued them in the following manner: Hearken to me, countrymen; this ſtatue which you now worſhip ſerved you heretofore for the meaneſt uſes; thus it is that all depends upon your choice and opinion; all authority reſides originally in the people; you are the abſolute arbiters of religion and of royalty, and create both your Gods and your Kings: I ſet you free from the idle fears both of the one and of the other, by letting you know your juſt rights; all men are born equal, it is your will alone which makes a diſtinction; when you are pleaſed to raiſe any one to the higheſt rank, he ought not to continue in it but becauſe it is your pleaſure, and ſo long only as you think fit: I hold my authority from you alone; you may take it back and give it to another who will make you more happy than I; ſhew me that man, and I ſhall immediately deſcend from the throne, and with pleaſure mix among the multitude.

Amaſis by this impious harangue, which flattered the people, ſolidly eſtabliſhed his own authority; they conjured him to remain upon the throne, and he ſeemed to conſent to it as doing them a favour: He is adored by the Egyptians, whom he governs with mildneſs and moderation; good policy requires it, and his ambi-

ambition is satisfied. He lives at Sais in a splendor which dazzles those who approach him; nothing seems wanting to his happiness: But I am assured, that inwardly he is far different from what he appears outwardly; he thinks that every man about him is like himself, and would betray him as he betrayed his master; these continual distrusts hinder him from enjoying the fruit of his crime, and it is thus that the Gods punish him for his usurpation: Cruel remorses rend his heart, and dark gloomy cares hang upon his brow; the anger of the great Osiris pursues him every where; the splendor of royalty cannot make him happy, because he never tastes either peace of mind, or that generous confidence in the friendship of men, which is the sweetest charm of life.

Amenophis was going on with his story, when Cyrus interrupted it, to ask him how Amasis could get such an ascendant over the mind of Apries? The King, replied Amenophis, wanted neither talents nor virtues; but he did not love to be contradicted; even when he ordered his ministers to tell him the truth, he never forgave those who obeyed him; he loved flattery while he affected to hate it: Amasis perceived this weakness, and managed it with art. When Apries made any difficulty of giving into the despotic maxims which that perfidious minister would have inspired him with, he insinuated to the King, that the multitude, being incapable of reasoning, ought to be governed by absolute authority; and that Princes, being the vice-gerents of the Gods, may act like them, without giving a reason of their conduct: He seasoned his counsels with so many seeming principles of virtue, and such delicate praise, that the Prince being seduced made himself hated by his subjects without perceiving it.

Here Cyrus, touched with this melancholy account of an unfortunate King, could not forbear saying to Amenophis: Methinks Apries is more to be pitied

than blamed; how ſhould Princes be able to diſcover treachery, when it is concealed with ſo much art? The happineſs of the people, anſwered Amenophis, makes the happineſs of the Prince; their true intereſts are neceſſarily united, whatever pains are taken to ſeparate them. Whoſoever attempts to inſpire Princes with contrary maxims, ought to be looked upon as an enemy of the ſtate. Moreover, Kings ought always to be apprehenſive of a man who never contradicts them, and who tells them only ſuch truths as are agreeable: There needs no farther proof of the corruption of a miniſter, than to ſee him prefer his maſter's favour to his glory. In ſhort, a Prince ſhould know how to make advantage of his miniſters talents, but he ought never to follow their counſels blindly; he may lend himſelf to men, but not yield himſelf up abſolutely to them.

Ah! how unhappy, cried out Cyrus, is the condition of Kings! you ſay they muſt only lend themſelves to men, they muſt not give themſelves up without reſerve to them; they will never then be acquainted with the charms of friendſhip: How much is my ſituation to be lamented, if the ſplendor of royalty be incompatible with the greateſt of all felicities? When a Prince, replied Amenophis, whom nature has endowed with amiable qualities, does not forget that he is a man, he may find friends who will not forget that he is a King: But even then, he ought never to be influenced by perſonal inclination in affairs of ſtate. As a private man, he may enjoy the pleaſures of a tender friendſhip, but as a Prince, he muſt reſemble the immortals who have no paſſion.

After theſe reflections, Amenophis, at the requeſt of Cyrus, continued his ſtory in the following manner. I was forgotten for ſome years in my priſon at Memphis. My confinement was ſo cloſe, that I had neither the converſation nor the ſight of any perſon; being thus left in ſolitude, and without the leaſt

leaſt comfort, I ſuffered the cruel torments of tireſom lonelineſs. Man finds nothing within himſelf but a frightful void, which renders him utterly diſconſolate; his happineſs proceeds only from thoſe amuſements which hinder him from feeling his natural inſufficiency. I ardently deſired death, but I reſpected the Gods, and durſt not procure it myſelf; becauſe I was perſuaded, that thoſe who gave me life had the ſole right to take it away.

One day, when I was overwhelmed with the moſt melancholy reflections, I heard of a ſudden a noiſe, as if ſomebody was breaking a way through the wall of my priſon. It was a man who endeavoured to make his eſcape; and in a few days he had made the hole wide enough to get into my chamber. This priſoner, though a ſtranger, ſpoke the Egyptian tongue perfectly well; he informed me, that he was of Tyre, his name Arobal, that he had ſerved in Apries's army, and had been taken priſoner at the ſame time with me. I never ſaw a man of a more eaſy, witty, and agreeable converſation; he delivered himſelf with ſpirit, delicacy and gracefulneſs. When he repeated the ſame things, there was always ſomething new and charming in the manner. We related to each other our adventures and misfortunes. The pleaſure which I found in the converſation of this ſtranger made me forget the loſs of my liberty, and I ſoon contracted an intimate friendſhip with him. At length we were both brought out of priſon, but it was only to undergo new ſufferings; for we were condemned to the mines: And now we had no longer any hopes of freedom but in death. Friendſhip however ſoftened our miſeries, and we preſerved courage enough to create ourſelves amuſements, even in the midſt of misfortunes, by obſerving the wonders hidden in the bowels of the earth.

The (a) mines are of a prodigious depth and extent, and are inhabited by a kind of ſubterraneous republick, whoſe members never ſee the day. They have nevertheleſs their polity, laws, government, families, houſes and highways, horſes to aſſiſt them in their labours, and cattle to feed them. There one may behold immenſe arches, ſupported by rocks of ſalt hewn into the ſhape of pillars. The ſalts are white, blue, green, red, and of all colours, ſo that an infinite number of lamps hanging againſt theſe huge pillars, form a luſtre which dazzles the eyes, like that of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, ſapphires, and all precious ſtones. What ſeems incredible, a rivulet of freſh water flows through theſe ſalt mines, and furniſhes drink to the inhabitants. This water is diſtributed into canals, caſcades, baſons and reſervatories to adorn theſe places where the ſun never ſhines, and to be made uſe of in the works which are here carried on.

After ſome years hard and painful labour, we were appointed maſters of the ſlaves. I had read the books of Hermes, knew his whole doctrine about the myſteries of nature, and had been inſtructed in the occult ſciences. We applied ourſelves to ſtudy thoſe wonders by experiments; to deſcend from known effects to thoſe which are more hid, and to re-aſcend from thence to firſt cauſes. When we had examined, compounded and decompounded bodies of all kinds that are found in thoſe ſubterraneous regions, we at laſt diſcovered that in the viſible univerſe there were but two principles, the one active, the other paſſive; an elementary fire, uniform, univerſal, and infinitely ſubtile, and an original virgin earth which is hard, ſolid, and the ſubſtance of all bodies.

(a) *The preſent mines of Viliſca, five miles from Cracow, reſemble thoſe which are here deſcribed.*

Before

Before Typhon broke the egg of the world, and introduced the evil principle there, the etherial matter penetrated all the parts of the virgin earth; by compreſſing ſome of them it gave compactneſs to ſolids, and by making others of them float produced liquids; the former were the canals through which the latter flowed, in order to a univerſal and regular circulation in all the parts of the univerſe; the waters incloſed in the centre of the earth not only perſpired through it's pores, and ſupplied that moiſture which is neceſſary to vegetation, but ſprang out in fountains, whoſe united ſtreams flowed in rivers great and ſmall to beautify the face of nature. The inward conſtitution of bodies was then viſible, becauſe every thing was luminous or tranſparent; the earth receiving or reflecting the rays of light, produced the agreeable variety of colours, and there was nothing dark or dazzling.

After the fall of ſpirits and the revolt of Typhon, this beautiful order was deſtroyed. The active principle which bound together all the parts of our globe, withdrawing itſelf, the waters burſt forth from their abyſs, and overflowed the face of the earth; the common maſs was totally diſſolved, 'twas all a dark chaos and an univerſal confuſion. The Goddeſs Iſis, beholding the ruin of her work, reſolved to repair it, yet without reſtoring it to it's firſt perfection. She laid the plan of a new world, very different indeed from the former, but ſuch a one as was proper to be the habitation of degraded ſpirits. She ſpake, nature obeyed her voice, and the ſhapeleſs chaos took a form, yet ſo, as that art and ſeeming chance, light and darkneſs, order and confuſion were mingled throughout. The earth was now opaque, ugly and irregular, like the intelligences that inhabit it. Diamonds, rubies, emeralds and the other precious ſtones, are but the ruins of the primitive earth which was all com-

poſed of ſuch materials. Some ſay that the chaos happened a long time before the deluge, that the firſt enſued upon the fall of the Genii, and that the other was the puniſhment of the crimes of men: Be that as it will, we have every where convincing proofs of the univerſal diſſolving (a) of the common maſs. We find in the inmoſt bowels of the earth, in mines and upon the higheſt mountains, fiſhes, birds, and all ſorts of animals which floated in the water, and are petrified ſince that inundation.

(b) At preſent all the fluids and ſolids reſult from the irregular combination of the active and paſſive principle, and it is the philoſopher's province to diſcover the general laws of this combination. One may conſider the particles of the pure elementary fire as inviſible points, and thoſe of the earth as lines, as ſurfaces, or as groſſer corpuſcles; when the etherial matter ſticks to thoſe terreſtrial particles that are long and pointed, it produces ſpears, darts, and winged arrows, which are the principles of ſalts; when it brings together, unites and compreſſes ſeveral ſurfaces, and penetrates them without being abſorbed in them, it engenders the principles of cryſtals; when it is impriſoned in the cavities of opaque corpuſcles, it forms ſpunges of fire, or the principles of ſulphurs; and hence reſult the firſt elements of all ſolids: When the terreſtrial particles float in the etherial matter, and wear themſelves round by rubbing againſt one another, theſe inviſible ſpheres become the principles of all fluids; little balls of mercury when they are opaque and heavy, drops of water when they are tranſparent and light, bubbles of air when they are endued with e-

(a) *Dr. Woodward's ſyſtem is very ancient, and is to be found among the Abyſſinians. See Patritio della Rhetorica, p. 7.*

(b) *See Boerhaave.*

laſticity

laſticity by the inceſſant egreſs and regreſs of the etherial matter through their pores.

From the combination of theſe three ſolids, and three fluids, which are not themſelves ſimple but compounded, all other bodies are engendred. The mixture of ſulphur with mercury makes the baſis of metals, which are more or leſs pure, as there are more or leſs of the terreſtrial particles in their compoſition. Precious ſtones are formed by the incorporating of metals with cryſtal, gold makes rubies, mercury diamonds, copper emeralds. The groſſer and more irregular particles of earth, when cemented by water, conſtitute the opaque and common ſtones. Laſtly, ſulphurs, ſalts, mercury and earth blended together in one common maſs, without rule or proportion, produce minerals, half metals, and all kinds of foſſils; while the more ſubtile and volatile parts being diluted with water and air, turn into liquors and vapours of all ſorts.

We frequently amuſed ourſelves with imitating theſe operations of nature, diſſolving ſolids, fixing liquids, and then reducing them to their firſt forms; with mixing ſulphurs, ſalts and minerals together, in order to make them ferment and thereby engender exhalations, clouds, winds, thunder, and all ſorts of meteors; with making tranſparent bodies opaque, and opaque bodies tranſparent; with ſuddenly changing colours into their oppoſites by barely mixing with them certain fluids that have no colour. Being thus entertained with the ſports of nature and art, we were beginning to make ourſelves tolerably eaſy under our misfortunes, when heaven reſtored us to liberty, by a ſtroke equally terrible and unexpected.

The ſubterraneous fires ſometimes break their priſons with a violence that ſeems to ſhake nature even to it's foundations; like the thunder which burſts the clouds, vomiting out flames and filling the air

with it's roarings. We frequently felt thoſe terrible convulſions. One day the ſhocks redoubled, the earth ſeemed to groan, and we expected nothing but death, when the impetuous fires opened a paſſage into a ſpacious cavern, and that which ſeemed to threaten us with a loſs of life procured us liberty. We walked a long time by the light of our lamps before we ſaw the day; but at length the ſubterraneous paſſage ended at an old temple, which we knew by the bas-reliefs upon the altar, to have been conſecrated to Oſiris. We proſtrated ourſelves and adored the Divinity of the place; we had no victims to offer, nor any thing wherewith to make libations, but inſtead of all ſacrifice, we made a ſolemn vow, For ever to love virtue.

This temple was ſituated near the Arabian gulf. We embarked in a veſſel which was bound for Muza, landed there, croſſed a great part of Arabia Felix, and at length arrived in this ſolitude. The Gods ſeem to have concealed the moſt beautiful places of the earth, from thoſe who know not how to prize a life of peace and tranquillity. We found men, in theſe woods and foreſts, of ſweet and humane diſpoſitions, full of truth and juſtice. We ſoon made ourſelves famous among them; Arabel taught them how to draw the bow, and throw the javelin to deſtroy the wild beaſts which ravaged their flocks; I inſtructed them in the laws of Hermes, and cured their diſeaſes by the help of ſimples. They looked upon us as divine men; and we every day admired the motions of beautiful nature, which we obſerved in them; their unaffected joy, their ingenious ſimplicity, and their affectionate gratitude. We then ſaw that great cities and magnificent courts have only ſerved too much to corrupt the manners and ſentiments of mankind; and that by uniting a multitude of men in the ſame place, they often do but

unite and multiply their paſſions. We thanked the Gods for our being undeceived with regard to thoſe falſe pleaſures, and even falſe virtues both political and military, which ſelf-love has introduced into numerous ſocieties, and which only ſerve to delude men, and to make them ſlaves to their ambition. But, alas! how inconſtant are human things! how weak is the mind of man! Arobal, that virtuous, affectionate, and generous friend, who had ſupported impriſonment with ſo much courage, and ſlavery with ſo much reſolution, could not content himſelf with a ſimple and uniform life. Having a genius for war, he ſighed after great exploits, and being more a philoſopher in ſpeculation than in reality, confeſſed to me, that he could no longer bear the calm of retirement; he left me, and I have never ſeen him ſince.

I ſeem to myſelf a being left alone upon the earth; Apries perſecuted me, Amaſis betrayed me, Arobal forſakes me; I find every where a frightful void. I experience that friendſhip, the greateſt of all felicities, is hard to be met with; paſſions, frailties, a thouſand contrarieties either cool it or diſturb it's harmony. Men love themſelves too much to love a friend well; I know them now, and I cannot eſteem them; however I do not hate men; I have a ſincere benevolence for them, and would do them good without hope of recompence. Whilſt Amenophis was ſpeaking, one might ſee upon the Prince's countenance the different ſentiments and paſſions, which theſe various events would naturally raiſe in a generous mind. The Egyptian having finiſhed the relation of his misfortunes, Cyrus aſked him, whether he knew what was become of Apries. Amenophis anſwered, I am informed that the King is yet alive, and that after having wandered a long time in the mountains, he has at length got together an army of Carians and Ionians, who

during his reign and by his permiſſion, ſettled in Upper Egypt, and has made himſelf maſter of the city of Dioſpolis.

Cyrus then ſaid to the Egyptian, I admire the conſtancy and courage with which you have ſuſtained the ſhocks of fortune, but I cannot approve of your remaining in this inaction: It is not lawful to enjoy repoſe ſo long as we are in a condition to labour for the good of our country; man is not born for himſelf alone, but for ſociety; Egypt has ſtill need of your aſſiſtance, and the Gods preſent you a new opportunity of being uſeful to her; why do you continue a moment in this ſolitude? An ordinary virtue is diſheartened by ill ſucceſs and adverſe fortune, but heroic virtue is never diſcouraged: Let us fly to the aſſiſtance of Apries, and deliver him from the oppreſſion of an uſurper. Amenophis to increaſe the ardor of Cyrus ſeemed very unwilling at firſt to return to Egypt, and ſuffered himſelf to be long entreated before he yielded to the Prince's ſolicitations.

Cyrus, before he left Arabia, diſpatched couriers to Nabuchodonoſor King of Babylon, who had married Amytis the ſiſter of Mandana, to ſolicite his uncle in favour of Apries; then having concerted with Amenophis all the neceſſary meaſures to make their deſigns ſucceed, they ſet out together, croſſed the country of the Sabeans with great expedition, ſoon arrived upon the ſhore of the Arabian gulf and embarked for Egypt. Cyrus was ſurpriſed to find here a new kind of beauty which he had not ſeen in Arabia: there, all was the effect of ſimple nature, but here, every thing was improved by art.

It ſeldom rains in Egypt, but the Nile by it's regular overflowings ſupplies it with the rains and melted ſnows of other countries. This river, by the means of an infinite number of canals, made a communication between the cities, joined the great ſea

ſea with the red ſea, and thus promoted both foreign and domeſtic commerce. The cities of Egypt were numerous, large, well peopled, full of magnificent temples and ſtately palaces: They roſe like iſlands in the midſt of the waters, and overlooked the plains, which appeared all fruitful, gay and ſmiling; there one might ſee hamlets neat and commodious, villages ſweetly ſituated, pyramids that ſerved for the ſepulchres of great men, and obeliſks which contained the hiſtory of their exploits. Agriculture, the mechanic arts and commerce, which are the three ſupports of a ſtate, flouriſhed every where, and proclaimed a laborious and rich people, as well as a prudent, ſteady, and mild government.

The Prince of Perſia could take but a curſory view of theſe things in the haſte he was in to get to Dioſpolis, where he joined the army of Apries. The King, touched with the generoſity of Cyrus, embraced him affectionately, and then ſaid to him, looking at the ſame time upon Amenophis; Prince, let my example teach you to know men, and to love thoſe who have the honeſty and courage to tell you truth when it is diſagreeable. The preſence of the young hero revived the hopes of Apries, and that of Amenophis contributed much to augment his army; it ſoon increaſed to the number of thirty thouſand men. The two Princes accompanied by Amenophis and Araſpes left Dioſpolis, marched againſt the uſurper, and came in ſight of his army, which was ſtrongly encamped near Memphis.

Apries was a Prince of great experience in the art of war, and was thoroughly acquainted with the country; he ſeized all the advantageous poſts, and pitched his camp over-againſt that of Amaſis. The uſurper, not imagining that the King of Egypt could have got together ſuch a numerous body of troops in ſo ſhort a time, had marched from Sais

with only twenty thouſand men. When Apries had in perſon taken a view of the enemy, and had diſcovered that they were much inferior in number, he reſolved to attack them in their camp. The next day Cyrus and Araſpes, at the head of ten thouſand Carians, forced the advanced guards of Amaſis, and approached his lines, and being ſoon after joined by Apries and Amenophis, broke through the intrenchments, and vigorouſly attacked the Egyptians; the engagement was bloody, and the victory for a long time doubtful. Cyrus impatient to finiſh the battle by ſome remarkable exploit, put himſelf at the head of a choice body of cavalry, fought every where for Amaſis, and found him. The uſurper being a brave general, as well as able politician, was flying from rank to rank, encouraging ſome, and hindering others from running away. Cyrus lanced his javelin at him, crying out, Tyrant, it is time to put an end to thy crimes and thy uſurpation. The javelin pierced the cuiraſs of Amaſis, and entered his body; a ſtream of blood flowed from his wound; furious as a wild boar pierced by the hunter's ſpear, he came up to Cyrus with his drawn ſabre, and raiſing his arm, Raſh youth, he cried, receive the reward of thy audaciouſneſs: the Prince of Perſia avoided the blow, but when he would have taken his revenge he found himſelf ſurrounded by a troop of young Egyptians, who came to the relief of Amaſis. Then Cyrus, like a young lion juſt robbed of his prey, made himſelf a paſſage through the enemy; every blow he gave was mortal, he defended himſelf a long time, but was at laſt ready to be overpowered when Amenophis came to his ſuccour, and then the battle was renewed. Amaſis notwithſtanding his wound did not quit the field, but raiſed the drooping courage of his men, and made Cyrus admire both his bravery and conduct. Night at length put an end to the action; Apries remained maſter

maſter of the field, yet Amaſis retired in good order with his troops, repaſſed the Nile, and gained the neighbouring mountains; the paſſes into theſe mountains were narrow and difficult, and he reſolved therefore to continue in this ſecure poſt till he was recovered of his wounds, and had reinforced his army.

Apries took advantage of the enemy's inaction to make himſelf maſter of Memphis, which he carried by aſſault in a few days. Upon this Amaſis, without waiting till he was perfectly cured, got together with incredible expedition an army of fifty thouſand men, and gave a ſecond battle. As Apries's troops were already much weakened, the uſurper overpowered them by numbers, and took the King of Egypt priſoner. Cyrus, Araſpes and Amenophis fearing to be ſurrounded, retired with the braveſt of the Carian and Ionian troops to the city of Memphis; thoſe who did not follow them were either put to the ſword, or made priſoners of war.

Amaſis, underſtanding who the young hero was that had wounded him, was apprehenſive of his credit at the court of Babylon, and diſpatched couriers thither; till their return he contented himſelf with blocking up the city, and retired with the greateſt part of his army to Sais, whither he likewiſe conducted the captive King. Amaſis paid him great honours for ſome days, and in order to ſound the inclinations of the people propoſed to them the replacing him on the throne, but at the ſame time ſecretly formed a deſign of taking away his life. The Egyptians were all earneſt to have the Prince put to death, Amaſis yielded him to their pleaſure, he was ſtrangled in his own palace, and the unfortunate remains of the Royal Family were maſſacred the ſame day. Cyrus heard with grief the melancholy news of the fate of Apries, and underſtood

ſtood at the ſame time by the return of his couriers the diſpoſitions of Nabuchodonoſor. This conqueror ſent Cyrus word to abandon Apries to his fate, but commanded Amaſis to obey the orders of the Prince of Perſia. Cyrus ſighed within himſelf, and could not forbear ſaying, I fear that the Gods will one day ſeverely puniſh Nabuchodonoſor for his inſatiable thirſt of dominion, and above all, revenge upon him his protection of Amaſis.

As ſoon as the uſurper underſtood the King of Babylon's pleaſure, he ordered his troops to retire from before Memphis, and ſet out in perſon from Sais to wait upon the Prince of Perſia. He advanced towards Memphis with all his court, but Cyrus refuſed to ſee him, and only wrote him this letter: The faults of Apries are puniſhed by the crimes of Amaſis; it is thus that the juſt Gods ſport with mortals, and ſeem to leave crowns to the diſpoſal of chance: Thy day will come; in the mean time I ſend Amenophis to declare to thee my will and pleaſure. Hadſt thou any feeling of virtue the ſight of him alone would overwhelm thee with reproaches that I diſdain to make thee.

Amenophis, followed by ſome Carians, haſtened to meet Amaſis, and found him not many furlongs from Memphis. He was ſurrounded by all the chief men of Egypt; 'twas an aſſembly of old courtiers, who had betrayed Apries through ambition, and of young men corrupted by pleaſures. Amenophis approached Amaſis with a reſolute, noble and modeſt air, and delivered him Cyrus's letter; the uſurper read it, and immediately a dark cloud overſpread his face; the remembrance of his crimes confounded him, and ſtruck him dumb; he endeavoured to ſummon up all his confidence but in vain; he caſt a look upon Amenophis, yet without daring to fix his eyes upon him; ſhame and remorſe were ſucceeded by rage and indignation, but the dread of Cyrus forced him

to

to dissemble; labouring under the conflict of so many different passions, he turned pale and trembled; he would have spoke, but utterance failed him; it is thus that vice, even when triumphant, cannot support the presence of virtue, though in adversity and disgrace. Amenophis perceived his confusion and perplexity, and only said to him, it is the will of Cyrus that all the prisoners of war be set at liberty, and be suffered, together with the troops that are in Memphis, to return to their former habitations in Upper Egypt, and to live there without molestation. O Amasis, I have nothing to demand of thee for myself, the present dispositions of thy soul will not suffer me to put thee in mind of my former affection, and thy ingratitude! Mayst thou one day see the beauty of virtue, repent of having forsaken her, and divert the anger of heaven which threatens thee. This said, he retired, and left Amasis covered with shame and confusion; he hastened back to Memphis, and the usurper returned to Sais, after he had given orders to put Cyrus's commands in execution. From this time to his death Amasis was always plunged in a gloomy sadness.

Cyrus, seeing the war at an end, applied himself to learn the history, policy and laws of ancient Egypt: He stayed some time at Memphis, and conversed every day with the priests of this city, in presence of Amenophis and Araspes. He found that the Egyptians had composed their history of an almost unbounded succession of ages; but that the fictions with which they had filled their annals about the reign of Ammon, Osiris, Isis and Orus, were only allegories to express the first state of souls before the great change which happened upon the revolt of Typhon: They believed, that after the origin of evil, their country was the least disfigured, and the soonest inhabited of any. Their first King was named Menes; and their history from his reign is reduced to three ages;

ages ; the firſt, which reaches to the time of the Shepherd-Kings, takes in eight hundred years ; the ſecond, from the Shepherd-Kings to Seſoſtris, five hundred ; the third, from Seſoſtris to Amaſis, contains more than ſeven centuries.

During the firſt age, Egypt was divided into ſeveral dynaſties or governments, which had each it's King. She had then no foreign commerce, but confined herſelf to agriculture, and a paſtoral life ; ſhepherds were heroes, and Kings philoſophers. In thoſe days lived the firſt Hermes, who penetrated into all the ſecrets of nature and of divinity ; it was the age of occult ſciences. The Greeks, ſay the Egyptians, imagine that the world in it's infancy was ignorant, but they think ſo, only becauſe they themſelves are always children (a) ; they know nothing of the origin of the world, it's antiquity, and the revolutions which have happened in it. The men of Mercury's time had yet a remembrance of the reign of Oſiris, and had divers traditional lights which we have loſt. The arts of imitation, poeſy, muſic, painting, every thing within the province of the imagination, are but ſports of the mind, in compariſon of the ſublime ſciences known by the firſt men. Nature was then obedient to the voice of the ſages ; they could put all it's hidden ſprings in motion ; they produced the moſt amazing prodigies whenever they pleaſed ; the aerial Genii were ſubject to them (b) ; they had frequent intercourſe with the etherial ſpirits, and ſometimes with the pure intelligences that inhabit the empyreum. We have loſt, ſaid the prieſts to Cyrus, this exalted kind of knowledge. We have only remaining ſome traces of it upon our ancient obeliſks, which may be called, the regiſters of our divinity, myſteries, and traditions relating to the

(a) *See the Diſ.* 328.
(b) *See Jamblichus de Myſteriis Ægyptiorum.*

Deity

Deity and to nature, and in no wiſe the annals of our civil hiſtory, as the ignorant imagine.

The ſecond age was that of the Shepherd-Kings, who came from Arabia; they over-ran Egypt with an army of two-hundred thouſand men. The ignorance and ſtupidity of theſe uncivilized Arabians occaſioned the ſublime and occult ſciences to be deſpiſed and forgotten; their imagination could receive nothing but what was material and ſenſible. From their time the genius of the Egyptians was entirely changed and turned to the ſtudy of architecture, war, and all thoſe vain arts and ſciences which are uſeleſs and hurtful to thoſe who can content themſelves with ſimple nature. It was then that idolatry came into Egypt: Sculpture, painting and poeſy obſcured all pure ideas, and transformed them into ſenſible images; the vulgar ſtop there, without ſeeing into the hidden meaning of the allegories. Some little time after this invaſion of the Arabians, ſeveral Egyptians, who could not ſupport the yoke of foreigners, left their country, and ſettled themſelves in colonies in all parts of the world. Hence thoſe great men famous in other nations; the Belus of the Babylonians, the Cecrops of the Athenians, and the Cadmus of the Bœotians; and hence it is, that all the nations of the univerſe owe their laws, ſciences, and religion to Egypt. In this manner ſpoke the prieſts to Cyrus. In this age lived the ſecond Hermes, called Triſmegiſtus; he was the reſtorer of the ancient religion; he collected the laws and ſciences of the firſt Mercury in forty two volumes, which were called THE TREASURE OF REMEDIES FOR THE SOUL, becauſe they cure the mind of it's ignorance, the ſource of all evils.

The third age was that of conqueſts and luxury. Arts were perfected more and more: cities, edifices, and pyramids multiplied. The father of Seſoſtris cauſed all the children, who were born the ſame day

day with his ſon, to be brought to court, and educated with the ſame care as the young Prince. Upon the death of the King, Seſoſtris levied a formidable army, and appointed the young men who had been educated with him, to be the officers to command it; there were near two thouſand of them, who were able to inſpire all the troops with courage, military virtues, and attachment to the Prince, whom they conſidered both as their maſter and their brother. He formed a deſign of conquering the whole world, and penetrated into the Indies farther than either Bacchus or Hercules; the Scythians ſubmitted to his empire; Thrace and Aſia Minor are full of the monuments of his victories; upon thoſe monuments are to be ſeen the proud inſcriptions of Seſoſtris King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Having extended his conqueſts from the Ganges to the Danube, and from the river Tanais to the extremities of Africa, he returned after nine years abſence, loaded with the ſpoils of all the conquered nations, and drawn in a chariot by the Kings whom he had ſubdued. His government was altogether military and deſpotical; he leſſened the authority of the Pontifs, and transferred their power to the commanders of the army. After his death diſſentions aroſe among thoſe chiefs, and continued for three generations. Under Aniſis the Blind, Sabacan the Ethiopian took advantage of their diſcords and invaded Egypt. This religious Prince re-eſtabliſhed the power of the prieſts, reigned fifty years in a profound peace, and then returned into his own country, in obedience to the oracles of his Gods. The Kingdom thus forſaken, fell into the hands of Sethon the high-prieſt of Vulcan; he entirely deſtroyed the art of war among the Egyptians, and deſpiſed the military men. The reign of ſuperſtition, which enervates the minds of men, ſucceeded that of deſpotic power, which had too much ſunk their courage. From that time Egypt

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was ſupported only by foreign troops, and it fell by degrees into a kind of anarchy. Twelve Nomarchs, choſen by the people, ſhared the kingdom between them, till one of them, named Pſammeticus, made himſelf maſter of all the reſt: Then Egypt recovered itſelf a little, and continued pretty powerful for five or ſix reigns; but at length this ancient kingdom became tributary to Nabuchodonoſor King of Babylon. The conqueſts of Seſoſtris were the ſource of all theſe calamities. Cyrus perceived by this, that Princes who are inſatiable of conquering, are enemies to their poſterity; by ſeeking to extend their dominion too far, they ſap the foundation of their authority.

The ancient laws of Egypt loſt much of their force even in the reign of Seſoſtris; in Cyrus's time nothing remained but the remembrance of them: This Prince collected all he could learn of them from his converſation with the great men and old ſages who were then living. Theſe laws may be reduced to three, upon which all the reſt depend; the firſt relates to Kings, the ſecond to polity, and the third to civil juſtice.

The kingdom was hereditary, but the Kings were ſubject to the laws. The Egyptians eſteemed it a criminal uſurpation upon the rights of the great Oſiris, and as a mad preſumption in a man to give his will for a law. As ſoon as the King roſe in the morning, which was at the break of day, when the underſtanding is cleareſt, and the ſoul moſt ſerene, all matters upon which he was to decide that day, were plainly and diſtinctly laid before him; but before he pronounced judgment, he went to the temple to invoke the Gods and to offer ſacrifice. Being there ſurrounded by all his court, and the victims ſtanding at the altar, he aſſiſted at a prayer full of inſtruction, the form of which was as follows: Great Oſiris! Eye of the world and light of ſpirits; Grant

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to the Prince, your image, all royal virtues, that he may be religious towards the Gods, and benign towards men, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, generous, an enemy of falſhood, maſter of his paſſions, puniſhing leſs than the crime deſerves, and rewarding beyond merit After this the high-prieſt repreſented to him the faults he had committed againſt the laws; but it was always ſuppoſed that he fell into them by ſurpriſe, or through ignorance; and the miniſters who had given him evil counſels, or had diſguiſed the truth, were loaded with imprecations. After the prayer and the ſacrifice, they read to him the actions of the heroes and great Kings, that the monarch might imitate their example, and maintain the laws which had rendered his predeceſſors illuſtrious, and their people happy. What is there that might not be hoped for from Princes accuſtomed, as an eſſential part of their religion, to hear daily the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſalutary truths? Accordingly, the greateſt number of the ancient Kings of Egypt were ſo dear to their people, that each private man bewailed their death like that of a father.

The ſecond law related to polity, and the ſubordination of ranks. The lands were divided into three parts; the firſt was the King's domain, the ſecond belonged to the chief prieſts, and the third to the military men. The common people were divided into three claſſes, huſbandmen, ſhepherds and artizans: Theſe three ſorts made great improvements, each in their profeſſions; they profited by the experience of their anceſtors; each father tranſmitted his knowledge and ſkill to his children; no perſon was allowed to forſake his hereditary profeſſion: By this means arts were cultivated and brought to a great perfection; and the diſturbances, occaſioned by the ambition of thoſe who ſeek to riſe above the rank in which they are born, were prevented. To the end that no perſon might be aſhamed of the lowneſs of his

his ſtate and degree, the mechanic arts were held in honour. In the body politic, as in the natural, all the members contribute ſomething to the common life. In Egypt it was thought madneſs to deſpiſe a man becauſe he ſerves his country in a laborious employment. And thus was a due ſubordination of ranks preſerved, without expoſing the nobler to envy, or the meaner to contempt.

The third law regarded civil juſtice. Thirty judges, drawn out of the principal cities, compoſed the ſupreme council, which adminiſtered juſtice throughout the Kingdom; the Prince aſſigned them revenues ſufficient to free them from domeſtic cares, that they might give their whole time to the compoſing of good laws, and enforcing the obſervation of them; they had no farther profit of their labours, except the glory and pleaſure of ſerving their country. That the judges might not be impoſed upon, ſo as to paſs unjuſt decrees, the pleaders were forbidden that deluſive eloquence which dazzles the underſtanding, and moves the paſſions; they expoſed the matters of fact with a clear and nervous brevity, ſtripped of the falſe ornaments of reaſoning; the preſident of the ſenate wore a collar of gold and precious ſtones, at which hung a ſmall figure without eyes, which was called truth; he applied it to the forehead and heart of him who gained his cauſe; for that was the manner of pronouncing ſentence. There was in Egypt a ſort of juſtice unknown in other nations: As ſoon as a man had yielded his laſt breath, he was brought to a trial, and the publick accuſer was heard againſt him. In caſe it appeared that the behaviour of the deceaſed had been culpable, his memory was branded, and he was refuſed burial; if he were not convicted of any crime againſt the Gods, or his country, he was entombed with marks of honour, and a panegyric made upon him, without mentioning any thing of his birth and deſcent. Before he was carried to the

the ſepulchre, his bowels were taken out and put into an urn, which the pontif held up towards the ſun, making this prayer in the name of the deceaſed (e). Great Oſiris! Life of all beings! Receive my manes, and reunite them to the ſociety of the immortals; whilſt I lived, I endeavoured to imitate You by truth and goodneſs; I have never committed any crime contrary to ſocial duty; I have reſpected the Gods of my fathers, and have honoured my parents; if I have committed any fault through human weakneſs, intemperance, or a taſte for pleaſure, theſe baſe ſpoils of my mortal nature have been the cauſe of it. As he pronounced theſe laſt words, he threw the urn into the river, and the reſt of the body, when embalmed, was depoſited in the pyramids. Such were the notions of the ancient Egyptians: Being full of the hopes of immortality, they imagined that human frailties were expiated by our ſeparation from the mortal body; and that nothing but crimes committed againſt the Gods and ſociety hindered the ſoul from being reunited to it's origin.

All theſe things raiſed in Cyrus a great deſire to inſtruct himſelf thoroughly in the religion of ancient Egypt; and for this purpoſe he went to Thebes. Zoroaſter had directed him to Sonchis the high prieſt of this city, to be inſtructed by him in all the religious myſteries of his country. Sonchis conducted him into a ſpacious hall, where were three hundred ſtatues of Egyptian high-prieſts. This long ſucceſſion of pontifs gave the Prince a high notion of the antiquity of the religion of Egypt, and a great curioſity to know the principles of it. To make you acquainted, ſaid the pontif, with the origin of our worſhip, ſymbols and myſteries, I muſt give you the hiſtory of Hermes Triſmegiſtus, who was the founder of them.

(e) *Porphyry de Abſtinentia, lib.* 4. *ſect.* 10.

Siphoas,

Siphoas, or Hermes, the second of the name, was of the race of our first sovereigns. While his mother was with child of him, she went by sea to Lybia, to offer a sacrifice to Jupiter Hammon. As she coasted along Africa, a sudden storm arose, and the vessel perished near a desert island. She escaped by a particular protection of the Gods, and was cast upon the island alone; there she lived a solitary life, until her delivery, at which time she died. The infant remained exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and the fury of the wild beasts; but heaven, which designed him for great purposes, preserved him in the midst of these misfortunes. A young she goat, hearing his cries, came and suckled him till he was past infancy. For some years he fed upon the tender grass with his nurse, but afterwards upon dates and wild fruits, which seemed to him a more proper food. He perceived by the first rays of reason which began to shine in him, that he was not of the same make with the beasts; that he had more understanding, invention and address than they; and thence conjectured, that he might be of a different nature.

The she-goat, which had nourished him, died of old age. He was much surprised at this new phænomenon, of which he had never observed the like before; he could not comprehend why she continued so long cold and without motion; he considered her for several days; he compared all he saw in her with what he felt in himself, and perceived that he had a beating in his breast, and a principle of motion in him, which was no longer in her. The mind speaks to itself, without knowing the arbitrary names which we have affixed to our ideas. Hermes reasoned thus: The goat did not give herself that principle of life, since she has lost it and cannot restore it to herself.

As he was endowed by nature with a wonderful sagacity, he sought a long time for the cause of this change; he observed that the plants and trees seemed

to die, and to revive every year, by the going away and return of the ſun; he imagined that this ſtar was the principle of all things, and he expoſed the carcaſe to it's rays, but life did not return; on the contrary he ſaw it putrify, grow dry and fall to pieces, nothing remained but the bones; it is not the ſun then, ſaid he within himſelf, that gives life to animals. He examined whether it might not be ſome other ſtar; but having obſerved that the ſtars which ſhined in the night had neither ſo much heat nor light as the ſun, and that all nature ſeemed to languiſh in the abſence of the day, he concluded that the ſtars were not the firſt principles of life.

As he advanced in age, his underſtanding ripened, and his reflections became more profound. He had remarked that inanimate bodies could not move of themſelves, that animals did not reſtore motion to themſelves, when they had loſt it, and that the ſun did not revive dead bodies; hence he inferred, that there was in nature a Firſt Mover more powerful than the ſun or the ſtars, and which gave activity and motion to all bodies.

Reflecting afterwards upon himſelf he obſerved, that there was ſomething in him which felt, which thought, and which compared his thoughts together. Diſſipating minds, wandering about in vain purſuits and loſt in amuſements, never enter into themſelves; their nobler faculties are benumbed, ſtupified and buried in matter. Hermes not being diverted by prejudices and paſſions, from liſtening to the ſtill voice of wiſdom, which inceſſantly calls us into ourſelves, obeyed that divine whiſper without knowing it; he retired more and more into his ſpiritual nature, and by a ſimplicity of heart attained to the diſcovery of thoſe truths, which others arrive at by ſubtilty of reaſoning. After having meditated ſeveral years on the operations of his own mind, without knowing or imagining that there was any difference between the

the ſoul and body, he concluded that he himſelf was not the firſt cauſe of thought, any more than of motion; that he derived both the one and the other from the ſame ſource, and conſequently that the Firſt Mover muſt have intelligence as well as power.

Scarce had he got a glimpſe of theſe truths when tranſported with joy he ſaid within himſelf, 'Since 'the Firſt Mover has ſo much power and wiſdom, 'he muſt alſo abound in goodneſs; he cannot but 'be ready to ſuccour thoſe who have need of his 'aſſiſtance; as I endeavour to relieve the animals that 'want my help, my power, my reaſon and my 'goodneſs can only be emanations from his.' Man, in the midſt of beings that can give him no ſuccour, is in a wretched ſituation; but when he diſcovers the idea of a being who is able to make him happy, there is nothing can compare with his hopes and his joy.

The deſire of happineſs, inſeparable from our nature, made Hermes wiſh to ſee that Firſt Mover, to know him, and to converſe with him. If I could, ſaid he, make him underſtand my thoughts and my deſires, doubtleſs he would render me more happy than I am. His hopes and his joy were ſoon diſturbed by great doubts. Alas! ſaid he, if the Firſt Mover be as good and beneficent as I imagine him, why do I not ſee him? And above all, why am I in this melancholy ſolitude, where I ſee nothing like myſelf, nothing that ſeems to reaſon as I do, nothing that can give me any aſſiſtance! In the midſt of theſe perplexities, his weak reaſon was ſilent, and could make no anſwer. His heart ſpoke, and turning itſelf to the Firſt Principle, ſaid to him in that mute language which the Gods underſtand better than words: Life of all beings! ſhew thy ſelf to me; make me to know who thou art, and what I am; come and ſuccour me in this my ſolitary and miſerable ſtate.

The great Oſiris loves a pure heart, and is always attentive to it's deſires. He ordered the firſt Hermes, or Mercury, to take a human form, and to go and inſtruct him. One day, when young Triſmegiſtus was ſleeping at the foot of a tree, Hermes came and ſat down by him. Triſmegiſtus when he awaked was ſurpriſed to behold a figure like his own; he uttered ſome ſounds, but they were not articulate; he diſcovered all the different motions of his ſoul, by thoſe tranſports, that earneſtneſs, thoſe ingenuous and artleſs ſigns, whereby nature teaches men to expreſs what they ſtrongly feel. Mercury in a little time taught the ſavage Philoſopher the Egyptian language. He then informed him what he was, and what he was to be, and inſtructed him in all the ſciences which Triſmegiſtus afterwards taught the Egyptians. He now began to diſcern ſeveral marks, which he had not obſerved before, of an infinite Wiſdom and Power diffuſed throughout all nature; and thereby perceived the weakneſs of human reaſon when left to itſelf and without inſtruction. He was aſtoniſhed at his former ignorance, but his new diſcoveries produced new perplexities. One day, when Mercury was ſpeaking to him of the noble deſtiny of man, the dignity of his nature, and the immortality which awaits him, he anſwered; If the great Oſiris ordains mortals to ſo perfect a felicity, whence is it that they are born in ſuch ignorance? Whence comes it that he does not ſhew himſelf to them, and diſpel their darkneſs? Alas! if you had not come to enlighten me, I ſhould have ſought long without diſcovering the firſt Principle of all things, ſuch as you have made him known to me. Upon this Mercury unfolded to him all the ſecrets of the Egyptian Theology, in the following manner.

(a) The primitive ſtate of man was very different

(a) *See the Egyptian Theology, in the Diſc. p.* 323.

from

from what it is at preſent. Without, all the parts of the univerſe were in a perfect harmony; within, all was in ſubjection to the immutable laws of reaſon; every one carried his rule within his own breaſt, and all the nations of the earth were but one republick of ſages. Mankind lived then without diſcord, ambition, or pomp, in a perfect peace, equality and ſimplicity: Each man however had his particular qualities and inclinations, but all inclinations were ſubſervient to the love of virtue, and all talents applied to the diſcovery of truth; the beauties of nature, and the perfections of it's author, were the entertainment and ſtudy of the firſt men. The imagination preſented nothing then but juſt and pure ideas; the paſſions, being in ſubjection to reaſon, raiſed no tumult in the heart, and the love of pleaſure was always regulated by the love of order. The God Oſiris, the Goddeſs Iſis, and their ſon Orus, came often and converſed with men, and taught them all the myſteries of wiſdom. This terreſtrial life, how happy ſoever, was nevertheleſs but the infancy of our beings, in which ſouls were prepared for a ſucceſſive unfolding of intelligence and happineſs. When they had lived a certain time upon the earth, men changed their form without dying, and flew away to the ſtars, where with new faculties and new light they diſcovered new truths, and enjoyed new pleaſures; from thence they were raiſed to another world, thence to a third, and ſo travelled through the immenſe ſpaces by endleſs metamorphoſes.

A whole age, and according to ſome, many ages paſſed in this manner; at length there happened a ſad change both in ſpirits and in bodies. Typhon, chief of the Genii, and his companions had formerly inhabited our happy dwelling; but being intoxicated with pride, and forgetting themſelves ſo far as to attempt to ſcale heaven, they were thrown

down headlong, and buried in the centre of the earth. They came out of their abyſs, broke through the egg of the world, diffuſed the evil principle over it, and corrupted the minds, hearts and manners of it's inhabitants. The ſoul of the great Oſiris forſook his body, which is NATURE, and it became a carcaſs. Typhon tore it in pieces, diſperſed it's members, and blaſted all it's beauties.

From that time the body became ſubject to diſeaſes and to death, the mind to error and to paſſions; the imagination of man preſents him now with nothing but chimeras; his reaſon ſerves only to contradict his inclinations, without being able to correct them; the greateſt part of his pleaſures are falſe and deceitful, and all his pains, even his imaginary ones, are real evils; his heart is an abundant ſource of reſtleſs deſires, frivolous fears, vain hopes, diſorderly inclinations, which ſucceſſively torment him; a crowd of wild thoughts and turbulent paſſions cauſe an inteſtine war within him, make him continually take arms againſt himſelf, and render him at the ſame time both an idolater and an enemy of his own nature. That which each man feels in himſelf, is a lively image of what paſſes in human ſociety. Three different empires are riſen in the world, and ſhare among them all characters, the empire of OPINION, that of AMBITION, and that of SENSUALITY: Error preſides in the firſt, force has the dominion in the ſecond, and vanity reigns in the third. Such is the preſent ſtate of human nature. The Goddeſs Iſis goes over all the earth, ſeeking the diſperſed, deluded ſouls, to conduct them back to the empyreum, while the God Orus continually attacks the evil Principle. It is ſaid, that he will at laſt re-eſtabliſh the reign of Oſiris, and will baniſh for ever the monſter Typhon; until that time good Princes may alleviate the miſeries of men, but they cannot entirely cure them. You, continued Mercury,

cury, are of the race of the ancient Kings of Egypt, and are deſtined by the great Oſiris to reform that kingdom by your wiſe laws. He has preſerved you only that you may one day make other men happy; you will very ſoon ſee your own country. He ſaid, and of a ſudden roſe into the air, his body became tranſparent and diſappeared by degrees like the morning ſtar, which flies at the approach of Aurora. He had a crown upon his head, wings at his feet, and held in his hand a caduceus; upon his flowing robe were all the hieroglyphicks which Triſmegiſtus afterwards made uſe of to expreſs the myſteries of Theology and of nature.

Meris the firſt, who then reigned in Egypt, being admoniſhed by the Gods in a dream of all that paſſed in the deſert iſland, ſent thither for the ſavage Philoſopher, and perceiving the conformity between his ſtory and the divine dream, adopted him for his ſon. Triſmegiſtus, after the death of that Prince, aſcended the throne, and made Egypt for a long time happy by his wiſe laws. He wrote ſeveral books, which contained the divinity, philoſophy and policy of the Egyptians. The firſt Hermes had invented the ingenious art of expreſſing all ſorts of ſounds by the different combinations of a few letters; an invention moſt wonderful for it's ſimplicity, but not ſufficiently admired, becauſe it is common. Beſides this manner of writing, there was another, which was conſecrated to divine things, and which few perſons underſtood. Triſmegiſtus expreſſed the virtues and the paſſions of the ſoul, the actions and attributes of the Gods, by the figures of animals, inſects, plants, ſtars and divers other ſymbolical characters: Hence it is that we ſee ſphinxes, ſerpents, birds and crocodiles in our ancient temples, and upon our obeliſks; but they are not the objects of our worſhip, as the Greeks fooliſhly imagine. Triſmegiſtus concealed the myſteries of religion under hie-

roglyphicks and allegories, and expoſed nothing to the eyes of the vulgar but the beauties of his morality. This has been the method of the ſages in all times, and of the great legiſlators in all countries. Theſe divine men were ſenſible that corrupted minds could have no reliſh for heavenly truths till the heart was purified from it's paſſions; for which reaſon they ſpread over religion a ſecret vail, which opens and vaniſhes when the eyes of the underſtanding are able to ſupport it's brightneſs.

Cyrus perceived by this hiſtory of Hermes, that the Oſiris, Orus and Typhon of the Egyptians, were the ſame with the Oromazes, Mythras and Arimanius of the Perſians; and that the Mythology of theſe two nations was founded upon the ſame principles. The notions of the Orientals were only more ſimple, clear and undiſguiſed by ſenſible images; thoſe of the Egyptians more allegorical, obſcure and wrapt up in fiction.

After Sonchis had diſcourſed with Cyrus in this manner, he conducted him to the temple, where he let him into all the ceremonies and myſteries of the Egyptian worſhip; a privilege which had never been granted before to any ſtranger, till he had gone through a ſevere probation. The temple was conſecrated to the Goddeſs Iſis, and built in an oval form to repreſent the egg of the world; over the great gate was this inſcription, (b) TO THE GODDESS WHO IS ONE, AND WHO IS ALL. The altar was a great obeliſk of porphyry, on which were ingraven ſeveral hieroglyphicks containing the ſecrets of the Egyptian religion. Towards the top appeared three dark clouds, which ſeemed to meet in a point; ſomewhat lower a tree planted in a muddy marſh, upon whoſe branches, which reached up to the clouds, ſat

(b) *Inſcription upon a temple of Iſis, which is yet to be ſeen at Capua.*

an

an hawk; by the ſide of this tree was a winged globe with a ſerpent coming out of it; at the bottom of all, a crocodile without a tongue hid itſelf in the waters of an abyſs, a ſphynx at the ſame time walking upon the ſurface. On one ſide of this altar ſtood the ſtatue of the Goddeſs, covered with a vail, upon which were repreſented the figures of the celeſtial and terreſtrial bodies; on the other ſide was the ſtatue of Harpocrates, holding one hand upon his mouth, and pointing to the Goddeſs with the other (c).

The high-prieſt, clothed in his pontifical robes, explained to Cyrus the meaning of theſe ſymbols, before he began the ſacrifice. We adore, ſaid he, no other but the great Ammon, that is to ſay, the unknown God; we conſider him ſometimes as he is in himſelf, and at other times as manifeſted by nature. In the firſt ſenſe we call him Eicton, Emeph, Ptha, Life, Light, and Love, all whoſe operations, thoughts and affections being concentred in himſelf, he remains in his ſolitary unity incomprehenſible to mortals; thus conſidered (d) we adore him only by ſilence, or by the name of INCOMPREHENSIBLE DARKNESS thrice repeated; and we repreſent him by the clouds which you ſee towards the top of the obeliſk.

Then we conſider him as he has manifeſted himſelf in the multiplicity of nature, by a diffuſive Goodneſs that communicates itſelf every where, by a ſovereign Wiſdom which forms within itſelf the ideas of all things, and by an infinite Power that produces, animates, preſerves and governs whatever has a

(c) *Theſe hieroglyphicks are all Egyptian, and are to be found, with the explications here given of them, in Plutarch, Jamblichus, Dammaſcius and Horus Apollo, quoted by Kircher and Cudworth.*

(d) *This famous expreſſion of the Egyptians is preſerved by Dammaſcius.*

being. We call these three forms of the divinity, Osiris, Isis, Orus, and we represent them by many different symbols: Sometimes by an hawk, which having of all birds the most piercing eye and the most rapid flight, serves to express the divine intelligence and activity. This bird sits upon the top of a tree, to signify that the Eternal Nature is infinitely exalted above matter, which is as dirt in comparison of the pure essence of the Deity. The globe denotes the indivisible Unity without beginning or end, the serpent the supreme Wisdom, and the wings that active Spirit which animates and gives life to all. The crocodile which appears under a deep water, and without a tongue, represents the great Osiris hidden in the abyss of nature, and doing all in a profound silence; but you see walking upon the surface of this abyss a sphynx, which, being half man and half lion, signifies the wisdom and strength of the two other principles. Lastly the Goddess Isis covered with a vail, and having, as you see, this inscription on her pedestal, I AM ALL THAT IS, HAS BEEN, OR SHALL BE, AND NO MORTAL CAN REMOVE THE VAIL THAT COVERS ME, declares, that universal nature is but a vail which covers the Divinity, and that no one can behold the splendor of his pure and naked essence. The posture of the God Harpocrates denotes that we ought never to speak of the incomprehensible essence of Isis, but only of her manifestations. The Egyptians in all other places have forgotten the original and sublime meaning of these sacred symbols; they adore the animals whose representations you see here, and pay contributions for their nourishment; but the inhabitants of Thebes refuse to do it; they acknowledge no mortal Gods, and adore but one sole Deity uncreated and eternal (e).

(e) *See Plutarch in his Isis and Osiris.*

Cyrus

Cyrus no ſooner underſtood the meaning of theſe hieroglyphicks, but he was the more deſirous of ſeeing the Egyptian ceremonies; and the ſacrifice began. While the victims were offering, and their blood ſtreaming at the foot of the altar, there was heard the moſt delicious muſic: On a ſudden the high-prieſt riſing up, cried with a loud voice, Let us adore the great Ammon the unknown God, the incomprehenſible darkneſs; thrice he repeated theſe words, and thrice the people fell proſtrate; the muſic ſtopped, an univerſal ſilence reigned, every one was afraid to breathe, leſt he ſhould diſturb the ſtillneſs and tranquillity of the place; then the voices joining the inſtruments, began this ſacred hymn, (f) Let us celebrate the praiſes of the immortal Iſis, ſhe is the mother of nature, the origin of all things, the ſum of all the divine virtues, the uniform face of the Gods and Goddeſſes; by one ſingle look ſhe enlightens the ſtars; at her command ſoft zephyrs refreſh the earth; ſhe rules over the diſmal and ſilent regions of hell; ſhe cheriſhes mortals, and ſhews them the affection of a mother in their afflictions; ſhe calms the tempeſts of fortune, ſhe reſtrains the noxious influences of the ſtars; the cœleſtial Deities proſtrate themſelves before her, the infernal powers obey her; all the univerſe adores her under different names, and by different rites. The ſervice ended, forty prieſts walked two and two from the temple in proceſſion, ſinging hymns in honour of the Gods (g): The high-prieſt came laſt with Cyrus at his right hand, and Amenophis at his left, encompaſſed by a vaſt throng of people, who attended them in a reſpectful ſilence without tumult, and conducted the Prince back to the palace of the Pontif.

(f) *See Cudw. p.* 410.
(g) *See Clem. Alex. Strom.* 6. *p.* 633.

Cyrus ſtayed ſome days with Sonchis, and then prepared to paſs into Greece. This country had filled all the Eaſt with the fame of her excellent laws, brave warriors, and wiſe philoſophers. The Prince would gladly have engaged Amenophis to accompany him in his travels; and in order to prevail upon him, promiſed that he would return by Babylon, and endeavour to perſuade Nabuchodonoſor to alter his reſolutions. O Cyrus, replied Amenophis, you are a ſtranger to the politicks of that conqueror; he reſolves to have none but tributary Kings in Egypt mere ſlaves to his will; Amaſis is a man for his purpoſe; Apries is dead, the race of our ancient King is extinct, the uſurper governs with gentleneſs and moderation; Egypt is in peace and tranquillity, and there is no longer any pretence for revolting. I am going back to my ſolitude, where I ſhall find thoſe pure pleaſures, which are not to be met with at the courts of Kings, nor in the hurry of buſineſs. Go, Prince, go render yourſelf worthy to accompliſh the Oracles; and never forget in the midſt of your ſucceſſes that you have ſeen a Monarch, who was heretofore triumphant and glorious, driven on a ſudden from his throne, and become the ſport of fortune. They parted ſoon after; Amenophis returned to his former ſolitude in Arabia, and Cyrus left Egypt without ſeeing Amaſis, whoſe character and uſurpation he abhorred.

THE
TRAVELS
OF
CYRUS.

FOURTH BOOK.

CYRUS resolving to go the shortest way into Greece, went down the Nile from Memphis to the mouth of that river, and embarked upon the Great Sea in a Phœnician vessel, that was bound for Argolis. Araspes, during the voyage, was sometimes sad and thoughtful, which Cyrus perceiving, asked him the reason. Araspes answered, You are a Prince, I dare not speak my heart to you. Let us forget the Prince, said Cyrus, and converse like friends. Well then, said Araspes, I obey: Every thing which Amenophis has said upon the instability of the heart of man in friendship, terrifies me; I often feel those contrarieties he has spoken of; your manners, which are too averse to pleasure, sometimes offend me; and, without doubt, my imperfections make you uneasy in their turn; how unhappy should I be, if this difference of character could alter or diminish our friendship. All men have their frailties, replied Cyrus; whoever look for a friend without imperfections, will never find what he seeks; we are not always equally content with ourselves, how should we be so with our friend? We love ourselves nevertheless with all our faults,

faults, and we ought to love our friend in like manner; you have your failings, and I have mine, but our candour in mutually confeſſing our errors, and our indulgence in excuſing each other, ought to remove your fears of any breach in our friendſhip. It is treating one's friend like another ſelf, thus to ſhew him our ſoul quite naked, and this ingenuity makes all imperfections vaniſh. With other men it is ſufficient to be ſincere by never affecting to appear what we are not; but with a friend we muſt be ſimple, ſo as to ſhew ourſelves even ſuch as we are.

Cyrus then changed the converſation, and diſcourſed with his friend of all they had ſeen in Egypt: When he had dwelt a good while upon the beauties of that country, it's revolutions, ſciences, religion and form of government, he thus concluded: I admire the wiſdom of all the laws of ancient Egypt, except that which forbids the Egyptians to quit their paternal profeſſions; this law ought to have exceptions: We ſee in almoſt all countries and all ages, that the greateſt men have not always had the advantage of an high birth. There are in all ſtates ſuperior genius's that would be rendered uſeleſs if confined to the ſphere in which they were born; in political eſtabliſhments we ſhould avoid every thing whereby nature may be conſtrained and genius cramped. The nobleſt prerogative of a King is to be able to repair the injuſtice of fortune, by doing juſtice to merit.

While a favourable wind filled the ſails, Araſpes, calling to mind the notions of Zoroaſter and the Magi, diſcourſed with Cyrus upon all the wonders which are diſcoverable in the vaſt empire of the waters; of the conformation of it's inhabitants, which is ſuited to their element; of the uſe of their fins, which they employ ſometimes as oars to divide the water, and ſometimes as wings to ſtop themſelves by extending them; of the delicate membranes which

which they have in their bodies, and which they diſtend or contract, to make themſelves more or leſs heavy, according as they would go upwards or downwards in the water; of the admirable ſtructure of their eyes, which are perfectly round, to refract and unite more readily the rays of light, without which they could not ſee in the humid element. After this they diſcourſed of the beds of ſalts and bituminous matter, hid in the bottom of the ſea. The weight of each particle of theſe ſalts is regulated in ſuch a manner, that the ſun cannot draw them upwards; whence it is, that the vapours and rains which fall again upon the earth, not being overcharged with them, become plenteous ſources of freſh water. Then they reaſoned upon the ebbing and flowing of the tide, which are not ſo diſcernible in the Great Sea as in the Ocean: of the influence of the moon which cauſes thoſe regular motions, and of the diſtance and magnitude of that planet, which are wiſely adjuſted to anſwer all our wants; if it were bigger or nearer to us, or if there were many of them, the preſſure being thereby augmented would raiſe the tides too high, and the earth would be every moment overflowed by deluges; if there were no moon, or if it were leſs or at a greater diſtance, the Ocean would ſoon become a maſs of ſtagnated waters, and it's peſtiferous exhalations diffuſing themſelves every where, would deſtroy plants, beaſts and men. At length they came to diſcourſe of that ſovereign Power, which has diſpoſed all the parts of the univerſe with ſo much ſymmetry and art.

After ſome days ſailing the veſſel entered the Saronic gulph, and ſoon arrived at Epidaurus, from whence the Prince made haſte to get to Sparta. This famous city was of a circular form, and reſembled a camp. It was ſituated in a wild and barren valley, through which the Eurotas flows, an impetuous river which often lays waſte the whole country by it's

it's inundations. This valley is hemmed in on one ſide by inacceſſible mountains, and on the other ſide by little hills, which ſcarcely produced what was neceſſary to ſupply the real wants of nature. The ſituation of the country had contributed very much to the warlike and ſavage genius of it's inhabitants.

As Cyrus entered the city he beheld only plain and uniform buildings, very different from the ſtately palaces he had ſeen in Egypt; every thing ſtill ſpoke the primitive ſimplicity of the Spartans: But their manners were upon the point of being corrupted under the reign of Ariſton and Anaxandrides, if Chilo one of the ſeven ſages of Greece had not prevented it. Theſe two Kings of the ancient race of the Heraclides, ſhared the ſovereign power between them; one governed the ſtate, the other commanded the troops. They received Cyrus with more politeneſs than was uſual for the Spartans to ſhew to ſtrangers. They ſeemed to have very little curioſity about the manners, ſciences and cuſtoms of other nations, their great concern was to make the Prince of Perſia admire the wiſdom of their law-giver, and the excellence of his laws. To this end they preſented Chilo to him. This Philoſopher had by his talents acquired great credit with the Kings, the ſenate and the people, and was looked upon as a ſecond Lycurgus; nothing was done at Lacedæmon without him. The Spartan Sage, in order to give Cyrus a lively notion of their laws, manners and form of government, firſt led him to the council of the Gerontes, inſtituted by Lycurgus. This council, where the two Kings preſided, was held in a hall hung with mat, that the magnificence of the place might not divert the ſenators attention. It conſiſted of about forty perſons, and was not liable to that tumult and confuſion which frequently reigned in the debates of the people at Athens.

Till Lycurgus's time the Kings of Sparta had been abſolute: But Eurytion, one of thoſe Kings, having yielded ſome part of his prerogatives to pleaſe the people, a republican party was thereupon formed, which became audacious and turbulent. The Kings would have reſumed their ancient authority, but the people would not ſuffer it; and this continual ſtruggle between oppoſite powers rent the ſtate to pieces. To eſtabliſh an equal balance of the regal and popular power, which leaned alternately to tyranny and anarchy, Lycurgus, in imitation of Minos, inſtituted a council of twenty eight old men, whoſe authority keeping a mean betwixt the two extremes, delivered Sparta from it's domeſtic diſſentions. An hundred and thirty years after him, Theopompus having obſerved, that what had been reſolved by the Kings and their council, was not always agreeable to the multitude, eſtabliſhed certain annual magiſtrates called Ephori, who were choſen by the people, and conſented in their name to whatever was determined by the King and Senate; each private man looked upon theſe unanimous reſolutions as made by himſelf; and in this union of the head with the members conſiſted the life of the body politic at Sparta.

After Lycurgus had regulated the form of government, he gave the Spartans ſuch laws as were proper to prevent the diſorders occaſioned by avarice, ambition and love. In order to expel luxury and envy from Sparta, he reſolved to baniſh for ever both riches and poverty. He perſuaded his countrymen to make an equal diſtribution of all their wealth and of all their lands, decried the uſe of gold and ſilver, and ordained that they ſhould have only iron money, which was not current in foreign countries. He choſe rather to deprive the Spartans of the advantages of commerce with their neighbours, than to expoſe them to the misfortune of bringing home from

from other nations thoſe inſtruments of luxury which might corrupt them.

The more firmly to eſtabliſh an equality among the citizens, they ate together in public halls; each company had liberty to chooſe it's own gueſts, and no one was admitted there but with the conſent of the whole, to the end that peace might not be diſturbed by a difference of humours; a neceſſary precaution for men naturally fierce and warlike. Cyrus went into theſe public halls, where the men were ſeated without any diſtinction but that of their age; they were ſurrounded by children who waited on them: Their temperance and auſterity of life was ſo great, that other nations uſed to ſay, It was better to die, than to live like the Spartans. During the repaſt they diſcourſed together on grave and ſerious matters, the intereſts of their country, the lives of great men, the difference between a good and bad citizen, and of whatever might form youth to the taſte of military virtues. Their diſcourſe contained much ſenſe in few words, for which reaſon the Laconic ſtyle has been admired in all nations; by imitating the rapidity of thought, it ſaid all in a moment, and gave the hearer the pleaſure of diſcovering a profound meaning which was unexpreſſed; the graceful, fine and delicate turns of the Athenians were unknown at Lacedæmon; the Spartans were for ſtrength in the mind as well as in the body.

Upon a ſolemn feſtival, Cyrus and Araſpes were preſent at the aſſemblies of the young Lacedæmonians, which were held within a large incloſure, ſurrounded with divers ſeats of turf raiſed one above another, in form of an amphitheater. Young girls almoſt naked contended with boys in running, wreſtling, dancing, and all ſorts of laborious exerciſes: The young men were not permitted to marry any but ſuch as they had vanquiſhed at theſe games. Cyrus was ſhocked to ſee the liberty which reigned in theſe

theſe public aſſemblies, between perſons of different ſexes, and could not forbear repreſenting it to Chilo. There ſeems, ſaid he, to be a great inconſiſtency in the laws of Lycurgus; his aim was to eſtabliſh a republic which ſhould conſiſt only of warriors, inured to all ſorts of labours, and at the ſame time he made no ſcruple to expoſe them to ſenſuality, the moſt effectual means to ſink their courage.

The deſign of Lycurgus in inſtituting theſe feſtivals, replied Chilo, was to preſerve and perpetuate military virtue in his republic. That great law-giver was well acquainted with human nature; he knew what influence the inclinations and diſpoſitions of mothers have upon their children; his intention was to make the Spartan women heroines, that they might bring the republic none but heroes. Beſides, continued Chilo, groſs ſenſuality and delicate love are equally unknown at Lacedæmon; it is only in theſe public feſtivals that the familiarity which ſo much offends you is allowed. Lycurgus thought it poſſible to deaden the fire of voluptuous deſires, by accuſtoming the eye ſometimes to thoſe objects which excite them. At all other times the women are very reſerved; nay by our laws new married perſons are permitted to ſee one another but rarely, and that in private; and thus our youth are formed to temperance and moderation, even in the moſt lawful pleaſures. By this means alſo are prevented thoſe diſguſts which frequently ariſe from the permiſſion of an unbounded liberty in the marriage ſtate. The conſtraint which the Spartans are under keeps up the ardor of their firſt flame; ſo that marriage does not make them ceaſe to be lovers. On the other hand, ſtoln amours and jealouſy are baniſhed from Sparta; huſbands who are ſick, or advanced in years, lend their wives to others, and afterwards take them again without ſcruple. Wives look upon themſelves as belonging to the ſtate more than to their huſbands.

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The children are educated in common, and often without knowing any other mother than the republic, or any other fathers than the ſenators.

Here Cyrus, ſtruck with a lively remembrance of Caſſandana and of the pure pleaſures of their mutual love, ſighed within himſelf, and felt an abhorrence of theſe odious maxims. He deſpiſed effeminacy, but he could not reliſh the ſavage fierceneſs of the Spartans, which carried them to ſacrifice the ſweeteſt charms of ſociety to ambition, and to think that military virtues were inconſiſtent with tender paſſions; however, as he was ſenſible that Chilo would little underſtand what he meant by theſe delicate ſentiments, he contented himſelf with ſaying: Paternal love ſeems to me a ſource of great advantages to a ſtate: Fathers are careful of the education of their children, and this education obliges children to gratitude; theſe are the original bands of ſociety. Our country is nothing elſe but many families united; if family-love be weakened, what will become of the love of one's country, which depends upon it? Ought we not to be afraid of ſuch eſtabliſhments as deſtroy nature, under pretence of improving it? The Spartans, anſwered Chilo, all conſtitute but one family. Lycurgus had experienced, that fathers are often unworthy, and children ungrateful; that both are wanting to their reciprocal duties, and he therefore truſted the education of the children to a number of old men, who, conſidering themſelves as the common fathers, have an equal care of all.

In reality, children were no where better educated than at Sparta: They were chiefly taught to obey, to undergo labour, to conquer in combats, and to face pain and death with courage. They went with their heads and feet naked, lay upon ruſhes, and ate very little; and this little they were obliged to procure by dexterity in the public banqueting rooms. Not that the Spartans authorized thefts and robberies,

robberies, for as all was in common in that republic, thoſe vices could have no place there; but the deſign was to accuſtom children who were deſtined for war, to ſurpriſe the vigilance of thoſe who watched over them, and to expoſe themſelves couragiouſly to the ſevereſt puniſhments, in caſe they failed of that dexterity which was exacted of them.

Lycurgus had remarked, that ſubtile ſpeculations, and all the refinements of ſcience, ſerved often only to ſpoil the underſtanding and corrupt the heart; and he therefore made little account of them. Nothing however was neglected to awaken in children the taſte of pure reaſon, and to give them a ſtrength of judgment; but all kinds of ſtudies, which were not ſerviceable to good manners, were looked upon as uſeleſs and dangerous occupations. The Spartans were of opinion, that in the preſent ſtate of human nature, man is formed rather for action than knowledge, and better qualified for ſociety than contemplation.

Cyrus went afterwards to the Gymnaſia, where the youth performed their exerciſes; Lycurgus had renewed the Olympic games inſtituted by Hercules, and had dictated to Iphitus the ſtatues and ceremonies obſerved in them. Religion, warlike genius and policy, all contributed to perpetuate the cuſtom of ſolemnizing theſe games; they ſerved not only to do honour to the Gods, to celebrate the virtues of heroes, to prepare the body for the fatigues of a military life, but alſo to draw together from time to time in the ſame place, and unite by common ſacrifices, divers nations whoſe ſtrength was in their union. The Spartans employed themſelves in no ſort of labour but the exerciſes neceſſary to qualify them to diſpute the prizes in the Olympic games. The Helots, who were their ſlaves, manured their lands, and were the only mechanics among them; for they eſteemed every employment as mean and ignoble,

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which regarded only a proviſion for the body.

Cyrus, having learned this maxim of the Lacedæmonians, ſaid to Chilo: Agriculture and the mechanic arts appear to me abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the people from idleneſs, which begets diſcord, effeminacy and all the evils deſtructive of ſociety: Lycurgus ſeems to depart a little too much from nature in all his laws. The tranquillity and ſweet leiſure of a rural life, replied Chilo, were thought by Lycurgus to be contrary to a warlike genius; beſides the Spartans are never idle; they are continually employed in all thoſe exerciſes that are images of war, in marching, encamping, ranging armies in order of battle, defending, attacking, building and deſtroying fortreſſes. By this means a noble emulation is kept up in their minds without enmity, and the deſire of conqueſt preſerved without ſhedding blood: Every one diſputes the prize with ardor, and the vanquiſhed take a pride in crowning the victors; the pleaſures which accompany theſe exerciſes make them forget the fatigue, and this fatigue prevents their courage from ſuffering any prejudice in times of peace (a).

This diſcourſe raiſed in Cyrus a curioſity to know the military diſcipline of the Spartans, and he ſoon found an opportunity to inform himſelf in it. The Tegeans, who inhabited a part of Peloponneſus, having entered into a league with ſeveral cities of Greece had raiſed troops, and were coming to attack the Spartans upon their frontiers. The latter prepared to repulſe the enemy, and Cyrus reſolved to ſignalize his courage on this occaſion, but he would firſt know the reaſons of the war, and Chilo explained them to him in the following manner.

The Spartans, ſaid he, being arrived to a flouriſhing condition by a ſtrict obſervance of the laws of Lycurgus, laid a ſcheme firſt to make themſelves maſters

(a) *See Tourreil's Pref. Hiſt. aux Phillip. de Demoſt.*

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of Peloponneſus, and then of all Greece. Courage and ſucceſs begot in them a thirſt of dominion, contrary to the original deſign (a) of our great law-giver: His intention of forming a republic of warriors, was not to diſturb the peace of other cities, but to preſerve his own in union, independence and liberty. That we might never entertain the unjuſt ambition of making conqueſts, he forbad us the uſe of money, commerce and fleets, three helps abſolutely requiſite for thoſe who ſet up for conquerors. The Lacedæmonians therefore departed from the ſpirit of Lycurgus, when they reſolved to attack their neighbours; their firſt deſign was to fall upon the Arcadians, but having conſulted the oracle of Delphos, the Pythian prieſteſs adviſed them to turn their arms againſt the Tegeans. The Spartans, depending on a deceitful oracle, marched out of their city, and carried chains with them in full aſſurance of reducing their enemies to ſlavery. Several battles were fought without victory's declaring for either ſide. At length, in the beginning of the preſent reign, our army was put to flight; our priſoners loaded with the ſame chains which we had prepared for the Tegeans, were yoked like beaſts, and condemned to draw the plough. The bad conduct of our Princes was the ſource of theſe calamities: I ſhould be far from diſcovering to you their faults if they had not had the courage to correct them.

Ariſton, who governed the ſtate, was naturally of a ſweet diſpoſition, affable and beneficent; he put an equal confidence in all thoſe who were about him; Anaxandrides who commanded the troops was of a quite contrary character, dark, ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful. Prytanis the favourite of Ariſton had been educated at Athens, and had given himſelf up to pleaſure; having a great deal of fine wit, he had the

(a) *See Plutarch.*

ſecret of making even his faults agreeable; he knew how to ſuit himſelf to all taſtes, and to all characters; he was ſober with the Spartans, polite with the Athenians, and learned with the Egyptians; he put on all ſhapes by turns, not to deceive (for he was not ill-natured) but to gratify his prevailing paſſion, which was the deſire of pleaſing, and of being the idol of men; in a word, he was a compound of whatever is moſt agreeable and irregular; Ariſton loved him, and was entirely governed by him. This favourite led his maſter into all ſorts of voluptuouſneſs; the Spartans began to grow effeminate; the King beſtowed his favours without diſtinction or diſcernment.

Anaxandrides obſerved a quite different conduct, but equally ruinous to the ſtate; as he knew not how to diſtinguiſh ſincere and honeſt hearts, he believed all men falſe, and that thoſe who had the appearances of probity were only greater hypocrites than the reſt. He entertained ſuſpicions of the beſt officers of his army, and eſpecially of Leonidas, the principal and moſt able of his generals, a man of ſtrict honour and diſtinguiſhed bravery. Leonidas loved virtue ſincerely, but had not enough of it to bear with the faults of other men; he deſpiſed them too much, and was regardleſs both of their praiſes and favours; he humoured neither princes nor their courtiers; his hatred of vice was ſuch, that it rendered his manners fierce and rugged, like thoſe of the firſt Spartans; he looked for perfection in every body, and as he never found it, he had no intimate friendſhip with any perſon; no body loved him, but all eſteemed and feared him; for he had all thoſe virtues which make men moſt reſpected and moſt avoided. Anaxandrides grew weary of him and baniſhed him; thus did this Prince weaken the ſtrength of Sparta, while Ariſton corrupted her manners.

Our enemies drew advantage every day from theſe diviſions

diviſions and diſorders. Perceiving the misfortunes which threatned our country, I went to the young Princes, and ſpoke to them in the following manner; My age, my long ſervices, and the care I have taken of your education, give me a right to tell you freely, that you both ruin yourſelves by contrary faults; Ariſton expoſed himſelf to be often deceived by flattering favourites, and you, Anaxandrides, expoſe yourſelf to the misfortune of never having a true friend. To treat men always with the utmoſt rigour they deſerve, is brutality and not juſtice; but on the other hand to have ſo general a goodneſs, and ſuch an eaſineſs of temper as not to be able to puniſh crimes with firmneſs, or to reward merit with diſtinction, is not a virtue but a weakneſs, and is frequently attended with as bad conſequences as ſeverity and ill nature itſelf. As for you, Anaxandrides, your diſtruſt does more hurt to the ſtate than the too eaſy goodneſs of Ariſton. Why do you entertain a diffidence of men upon bare ſurmiſes, when their talents and capacities have rendered them neceſſary to you? When a Prince has once honoured a miniſter with his confidence, for good reaſons, he ought never to withdraw it without manifeſt proofs of perfidiouſneſs. It is impoſſible for him to do every thing himſelf, and he muſt therefore have the courage to hazard ſometimes the being deceived, rather than miſs the opportunities of acting; he ſhould know how to make a wiſe uſe of men, without blindly yielding himſelf up to them like Ariſton; there is a medium between an exceſſive diffidence, and a blind confidence; without this medium no government can long ſubſiſt. Reflection and experience rectified by degrees the faults of Ariſton, and he diſmiſſed Prytanis; but the moroſe temper of Anaxandrides could be corrected only by misfortunes; he was often defeated in his wars with the Tegeans, and at length found the neceſſity of recalling Leonidas. Our troops

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ſince that time have been more ſucceſsful; we have recovered our priſoners and obtained ſeveral victories; but theſe advantages have made the Tegeans more jealous of us, and we are become the object not only of their hatred, but of that of all the Greeks.

Cyrus liſtened with attention to this account given him by Chilo, and then ſaid to him, looking upon Araſpes: The Hiſtory of your Kings will be an eternal leſſon to me, to avoid two faults very common with Princes. As for the reſt, I obſerve that the republic of Sparta is like a camp always ſubſiſting, an aſſembly of warriors always under arms; how great a reſpect ſoever I have for Lycurgus, I cannot admire this form of government. You aſſure me that your law-giver in conſtituting ſuch a republic had no other deſign but to preſerve it in union and liberty; but would a legiſlator who has only theſe pacific views baniſh from a ſtate all other profeſſions except that of war? Would he enjoin that no member of it ſhould be bred to any other exerciſe, ſtudy or occupation, but that of making himſelf dexterous in deſtroying other men? Lycurgus has indeed prohibited the uſe of money, commerce and fleets, but are theſe neceſſary to the conqueſt of Greece? I rather believe, that he made theſe prohibitions only out of policy, in order to conceal from the neighbouring cities his ambitious deſigns, hinder the Spartans from becoming ſoft and luxurious, and deprive them of the means of dividing their forces by foreign and diſtant wars (a). Your law-giver has again departed both from nature and juſtice; when he accuſtomed each private citizen to frugality, he ſhould have taught the whole nation to confine her ambition. An able politician ought to provide not only for the liberty of his own

(a) *Polybius is of this opinion.*

ſtate,

ſtate, but for the ſafety of all the neighbouring ones. To ſet ourſelves looſe from the reſt of mankind, to look upon ourſelves as made to conquer them, is to arm all nations againſt us. Why don't you reform theſe unjuſt maxims? Why don't you put an end to the war? Why have you not recourſe to the ſupreme council of the Amphictions to terminate your differences with the Tegeans? The reaſon, replied Chilo, is the obſtinacy of the Tegeans; they are ſo enraged againſt us, that they refuſe to ſubmit to the arbitration of that council; they breathe nothing but our deſtruction; they have engaged ſeveral cities of Peloponneſus in a league againſt us. The notion which is entertained of our deſigning to conquer all Greece has excited the hatred and diſtruſt of our neighbours. Such is the preſent ſtate of Sparta

Not many days after this, the Lacedæmonians, having advice that the Tegeans were advancing towards their frontiers, marched out of Sparta to give them battle. Anaxandrides appeared at their head in his military habit, his caſque was adorned with three birds, of which that in the middle was the creſt, upon his cuiraſs he bore the head of Meduſa, all the inſignia of the God Mars were repreſented upon his ſhield, which was an hexagon; and he held in his hand a ſtaff of command. Cyrus marched by his ſide; his buckler reſembled that of Achilles; upon his caſque was an eagle, whoſe plume and tail overſpread his ſhoulders; upon his cuiraſs was engraven in bas-relief the Goddeſs Pallas wiſe and warlike, to expreſs the inclinations of the Prince. Araſpes and Leonidas leſs magnificently accoutred accompanied the two Princes, who thus left the city followed by the Lacedæmonian troops. The whole army formed into a ſquare battalion, a double rank of cavalry incloſed a third rank of archers, which encompaſſed three inner ranks of pike-

men and ſlingers, and left an empty ſpace in the centre of the proviſions, ammunition and baggage. All the ſoldiers marched to the ſound of flutes, and ſinging the hymn of Caſtor. The Spartan general, knowing how fond the Prince of Perſia was of information, entertained him in the way after the following manner.

Greece is divided into ſeveral republicks, each of which maintains an army in proportion to it's extent. We do not affect to bring prodigious armies into the field like the Aſiaticks, but to have well-diſciplined troops; numerous bodies are difficult to manage, and are too expenſive to a ſtate; our invariable rule is to encamp ſo, that we may never be obliged to fight againſt our will; a ſmall army well practiſed in war may, by entrenching itſelf advantageouſly, oblige a very numerous one to diſperſe it's troops, which would otherwiſe ſoon be deſtroyed for want of proviſions. When the common cauſe of Greece is to be defended, all theſe ſeparate bodies unite, and then no ſtate dare attack us. At Lacedæmon all the citizens are ſoldiers; in other republics, the dregs of the people are not admitted into the ſoldiery, but the beſt men are choſen out for the army, ſuch as are bold, robuſt, in the flower of their age, and inured to laborious occupations; the qualities required in their leaders are birth, intrepidity, temperance and experience; they are obliged to paſs through the moſt rigid trials, before they can be raiſed to a command; they muſt have given ſignal proofs of all the different ſorts of courage, by greatly enterpriſing, executing with vigour, and above all by ſhewing themſelves ſuperior to the moſt adverſe fortune. By this means each republic has always a regular militia, able officers, ſoldiers well diſciplined and inured to fatigues. The Spartans in time of war abate ſomewhat of the ſeverity of their exerciſes and auſterity of life; we

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are the only people in the world to whom war is a kind of repoſe; we then enjoy all thoſe pleaſures which are forbidden us in time of peace. Upon a day of battle we diſpoſe our troops in ſuch a manner, that they do not all fight at once like the Egyptians, but ſucceed and ſupport one another without confuſion. We never draw up our men in the ſame manner as the enemy, and we always place our braveſt ſoldiers in the wings, that they may extend themſelves and encloſe the oppoſite army. When the enemy is routed, Lycurgus has required us to exerciſe all acts of clemency towards the vanquiſhed, not only out of humanity but policy; for hereby we render our enemies leſs fierce. The hope of being well treated, if they ſurrender their arms, prevents their giving way to that deſperate fury which often proves fatal to the victorious.

While Leonidas was ſpeaking, they arrived in the plain of Mantinea, where they diſcovered the camp of the Tegeans, which was covered on one ſide by a foreſt, and on all the other by a terraſs, with parapets, paliſadoes and towers at certain diſtances. Anaxandrides encamped on the banks of the river Eurotas: Leonidas gave orders, and immediately the ſoldiers hung their caſques on their pikes ſtuck in the ground, and fell to work without putting off their cuiraſſes. The river made the camp inacceſſible on one ſide, the other three were ſurrounded by lines of circumvallation; the waters of the Eurotas quickly filled the ditches; portable houſes were erected, the different quarters of the officers regularly diſpoſed, the cavalry put under ſhelter, a moveable city was raiſed with four gates, ſeveral large ſtreets croſſed one another, and had likewiſe a communication by others that were leſs.

The river Eurotas ran between the two camps, and was a ſecurity againſt any ſurpriſe: Leonidas took this opportunity to ſhew Cyrus the military

exercise in use among the Greeks, and made his troops often pass in review before the Prince: They were divided into divers bodies of horse and foot; at their head were the Polemarchi, and the commanders of the several corps. The soldiers were clothed in red, that in the heat of action the sight of their blood might not terrify either the wounded or their companions (b). Upon the least signal of their commanders, the different cohorts separated, re-united, extended themselves, doubled, opened, closed their ranks and ranged themselves by various evolutions and windings into perfect squares, oblong squares, lozenges and triangular figures.

The Spartans waited several days in their camp to take advantage of the enemy's motions. In the mean time divisions arose among the allies; the wisest of them desired peace, but the greater number were eagerly bent on war. Cyrus, understanding their dispositions, offered to go in person to the camp of the Tegeans, and speak with their leaders. The King consented, and the young Prince passed the Eurotas, and advanced to the confederates; their chief officers assembled about him, and he addressed them in the following manner.

People of Greece, I am a stranger, the desire of knowing your laws, sciences and military discipline has engaged me to travel among you. Your wit is every where extolled, but I cannot admire your wisdom. The Spartans would be much in the wrong to make any attempt upon your liberties, but neither is it just in you to endeavour their destruction. They are not afraid of war, they love fatigues and dangers, and are prepared for all events; but they don't refuse to grant you peace upon honourable conditions. I understand that you have in Greece a wise council, whose business it is to ter-

(b) *A remark of Ælianus.*

minate

minate the differences that arise between your cities. Why have you not recourse to this council! The mutual war you make upon each other, and your domestick jealousies, will weaken you by degrees, and you will fall a prey to some conqueror emboldened by your divisions.

All the old men looked upon one another while he was speaking, and seemed to approve of what he said; their General, on the contrary, fearing lest the Prince's advice should be followed, murmured within himself; he was a young impetuous hero, a martial fire sparkled in his eyes, he had a sprightly, masculine and captivating eloquence, capable of inspiring courage into the most timorous. When Cyrus had done speaking he raised his voice and answered him thus. Whoever you are, O stranger, you are unacquainted with the boundless ambition of the Spartans; their fundamental constitution tends to destroy all the neighbouring states. Lycurgus their law-giver laid the foundations in Lacedæmon of an universal monarchy, and inspired his countrymen with a desire of domination, under pretence that Greece cannot maintain her freedom and independency while divided into so many petty republicks. Ever since that time the avaricious Spartans are greedy of what they have not, while they refuse themselves the enjoyment of what they have: When they are weakened and brought low, they moderate their ambitious desires; but they have no sooner recovered their strength, than they return to their old maxims; we can have no security but in their total destruction. Scarce had he pronounced these words, when a confused murmur rose among the soldiers, the fire of discord was kindled anew in their breasts, and they all cried out, war, war, let the Spartans be destroyed.

Cyrus perceiving the fury which animated them, and that they would no longer hearken to him, re-

turned to the camp of the Lacedæmonians. They immediately called a council of war, and it was reſolved to attack the enemy in their entrenchments. Cyrus offered to paſs the river at the head of a choſen body of cavalry, and this being agreed to, he waited for night to put his deſign in execution; he paſſed without any oppoſition; and at break of day the infantry followed him on rafts and buck-ſkin boats. The Tegeans taking the alarm left their camp and drew up in battalia. The two armies advanced with their pikes ported, each phalanx in the cloſeſt order, buckler ſtuck to buckler, helmet to helmet, man to man; the battle began; the left wing of the Lacedæmonians commanded by Cyrus quickly broke the right wing of the Tegeans; Araſpes purſued the fugitives warmly, and put them out of a condition to rally; they fled to a neighbouring fortreſs. Cyrus returned with his troops to ſuſtain the center of the Spartan army which began to give way; but while he was putting the enemy into diſorder, the right wing of the Spartans fled before the left of the allies; Leonidas who commanded it gained an eminence, from which he could diſcover all that paſſed; when he ſaw the happy ſucceſs of Cyrus's ſkill and bravery, he encouraged his men, rallied them and returned to charge the enemy. The Tegeans, finding themſelves attacked both in front and rear, diſperſed and fled, and were almoſt all cut in pieces or taken priſoners: The few that eſcaped in the night took refuge in the ſame fortreſs with the others.

The battering engines and other machines, which have ſince been uſed in attacking of towns, were not then known to the Greeks; on theſe occaſions they diſpoſed their men in a certain form which they called a Tortoiſe (c). The next day Leonidas gave

(c). Χελώνη, *invented by Artemon of Clazomene.*

the

the word of command, the Spartans drew up and marched to the fortreſs; the foremoſt ranks covered themſelves with their ſquare bucklers, the reſt raiſed them over their heads, preſſed them againſt one another, and then gradually bending formed a kind of ſloping roof impenetrable to arrows. A triple ſtage of this ſort raiſed the aſſailants to the height of the walls. The beſieged rained down a ſhower of ſtones and darts; but in the end the beſiegers made themſelves maſters of the fortreſs. Four thouſand Tegeans were ſlain in the two actions, and three thouſand taken priſoners.

After the battle a new council of war was called. Leonidas by the King's order made encomiums upon Cyrus in preſence of all the commanders, and aſcribed the victory to his conduct and courage. All the ſoldiers ſent up ſhouts of joy, and looked upon the Prince of Perſia as a divine man ſent by the Gods to ſave Sparta in her weak and tottering condition. It was afterwards propoſed in the council to carry the Tegean priſoners to Lacedæmon, and to treat them like ſlaves, as they had done the Spartans. Cyrus then roſe up in the midſt of the aſſembly, a divine fire darted from his eyes, wiſdom deſcended into his heart, and he ſaid: You are going, in my opinion, to violate one of the principal and wiſeſt laws of Lycurgus; he has enjoined you to treat the vanquiſhed with clemency; the right of conqueſt even in a lawful war is the leaſt of all rights, and is never juſt but when it is made uſe of to render the conquered happy. A conqueror who ſeeks only to domineer, ought to be deemed an uſurper upon the rights of nations, and an enemy of mankind who ſports with their miſeries to gratify his brutal and unnatural paſſions. It is by reaſon alone that man ſhould ſubdue man; no one deſerves to be a King but he who engages in the toils of empire, and ſubjects himſelf to the ſlavery of governing

ing purely out of compaſſion to men incapable of governing themſelves. If therefore you deſire to become maſters of Greece, let it be only by ſhewing yourſelves more humane, and more moderate than all the other cities. The reſt of the Grecian ſtates, when they ſee your wiſdom, your courage, and your excellent laws, will be eager to put themſelves under your protection, and with emulation ſue to be received as members of your republic. It is by this means that you will ſweeten all minds, and captivate all hearts. Anaxandrides influenced by this diſcourſe granted peace, on condition that the Tegeans ſhould for the future be tributary to Lacedæmon. He detained the chief men among them as hoſtages, and carried them to Lacedæmon, where he granted them all the privileges of citizens.

Cyrus at his return to Sparta revolved in his mind all that he had ſeen and heard, and formed great ideas relating to the art of war, which he reſolved to improve one day in Perſia. After he had thoroughly ſtudied the laws, manners and military diſcipline of the Spartans, he left Lacedæmon to viſit the other republics of Greece. Chilo and Leonidas conducted him to the frontiers of their country. He ſwore an eternal friendſhip to them, and promiſed to be always a faithful ally of their republic; and he was true to his word, for the Perſians had never any war with the Greeks in that conqueror's time.

Cyrus reſolved before he left Peloponneſus, to viſit all it's principal cities. He went firſt to Argos, then to Mycenæ, afterwards to Sicyon, and at length ſtopt at Corinth, which was the moſt flouriſhing republic of Greece, after thoſe of Sparta and Athens. As he enter'd the town, he beheld with ſurpriſe all the people in mourning; ſeveral players upon flutes marched at the head of a funeral proceſſion, and increaſed the publick ſorrow by their plaintive ſounds:

Forty

Forty young girls bare-footed, their hair diſheveled, and clothed in long white robes ſurrounded the bier, and melted into tears while they ſung the praiſes of the dead; a little after followed the ſoldiers with a ſlow pace, a ſorrowful air, their eyes upon the ground and their pikes reverſed; at their head marched a venerable old man; his noble and military air, his tall and majeſtic ſtature, and the bitter grief that was painted upon his face, drew the attention of Cyrus. The young Prince having aſked his name, underſtood that it was King Periander, who was conducting his ſon Lycophron to his tomb.

Cyrus and Araſpes joined themſelves with the crowd, which was going to a fortreſs called Acro-Corinthus; it was built upon the ſummit of an high mountain, from whence might be ſeen the Ægean and Ionian ſeas; for which reaſon it was called The Eye of Greece. Being come to the fortreſs, which was the burial place of the Kings, Periander firſt of all powered wine, milk and honey upon the body of his ſon; he then lighted with his own hands the funeral pile, upon which had been poured incenſe, aromatics and odoriferous oils; he remained mute, immoveable, and with his eyes drowned in tears, while the devouring flames conſumed the body; after having ſprinkled the yet ſmoking aſhes with perfumed liquors, he gathered them together into a golden urn, and then making a ſign to the people that he was going to ſpeak, he thus broke ſilence. People of Corinth, the Gods themſelves have taken care to revenge you of my uſurpation, and to deliver you from ſlavery; Lycophron is dead, my whole race is extinct, I will reign no longer; countrymen, reſume your rights and your liberties. As ſoon as he had ſaid theſe words, he ordered all the aſſembly to retire, cut off his hair to denote his ſorrow, and ſhut himſelf up in the tomb with his ſon. Cyrus being extremely affected with this ſight, was very

desirous to learn the reason of it, and he received the following account; (d) Corinth was at first governed by Kings, but monarchy being abolished, Prytanes or annual magistrates were established in their place. This popular government continued for a whole age, and Corinth was daily increasing in wealth and splendor, when Cypselus, the father of Periander, usurped the regal authority. Having reigned above thirty years, and his passions being satisfied, he began to be troubled with remorse. Reason resumed it's empire, he reflected with horror upon the crime he had committed, and resolved to free the Corinthians from their slavery; but death prevented him. A little before he expired, he called Periander to him, and made him swear to restore his countrymen their liberty. The young Prince blinded by his ambition quickly forgot his oath; and this was the source of all his misfortunes. The Corinthians sought to dethrone him, and rose in arms against him several times; but he subdued the rebels, and strengthened his authority more and more. His first wife being dead, he, in order to secure himself against these popular insults, courted an alliance with Melissa heiress of Arcadia, and married her; she was the most beautiful Princess of her time, a woman of consummate virtue and great courage.

Several years after this marriage, Periander declared war against the Corcyreans, and put himself at the head of his troops. The Corinthians in his absence revolted anew. Melissa shut herself up in the fortress, vigorously sustained the siege of it, and sent to demand succour of Procles tyrant of Epidaurus, who had always seemed a faithful ally of Periander. Procles, who had long formed a project of extending his dominion over all Greece, took

(d) *See Herod. lib. 3. and Diog. Laertius's life of Periander.*

advantage

advantage of this juncture to ſeize upon Corinth; he conſidered it as a city very proper to be the capital of a great empire; he came before it with a numerous army, and made himſelf maſter of it in a few days. Meliſſa, who was ignorant of his deſigns, opened the gates of the fortreſs, and received him as her deliverer, and the friend of her huſband. The tyrant, ſeeing himſelf Maſter of Corinth, eſtabliſhed his reſidence there, and gave Periander to underſtand that he muſt content himſelf with reigning at Corcyra, which this Prince had juſt conquered.

Meliſſa quickly found that uſurpation was not the only crime of which Procles was guilty. He had entertained a violent paſſion for her, and he tried all means to ſatisfy it: After having in vain employed both careſſes and threatnings, he inhumanly cauſed her to be ſhut up with her ſon Lycophron in a high tower, ſituated upon the borders of the ſea. In the mean while Periander was informed of Procles's treachery, and of his love for Meliſſa; he was at the ſame time aſſured, that ſhe had not only favoured the perfidious deſigns of the tyrant, but that ſhe anſwered his paſſion. The King of Corinth liſtened too readily to theſe calumnies; poſſeſſed with the rage of jealouſy he equipped a great fleet, and embarked for Corinth before Procles could put himſelf in a poſture of defence. He was juſt entering the port when a violent ſtorm roſe and diſperſed his ſhips. Meliſſa knew not the ſentiments of Periander, and was already bleſſing the Gods for her approaching deliverance, when ſhe ſaw part of the fleet periſh before her eyes; the reſt being driven on the coaſt of Africa were there caſt away; the only veſſel that eſcaped the fury of the tempeſt, was that where Periander was on board.

He returned to Corcyra, where he fell into a deep melancholy; his courage had enabled him to bear

up

up under the loſs of his dominions, but he could not ſupport the thoughts of Meliſſa's imagined crime. He had loved her, and her only; he ſunk under the weight of his grief, and his mind was diſturbed to a degree of diſtraction.

In the mean while Meliſſa, who was ſtill ſhut up in the tower, believed Periander dead, and wept bitterly for him; ſhe ſaw herſelf expoſed afreſh to the inſults of a barbarous Prince, who could commit the greateſt crimes without horror. While ſhe was imploring the help of the Gods, and conjuring them to protect her innocence, the perſon under whoſe charge Procles had left her, being touched with her misfortunes, informed her that Periander was living, and offered to conduct her with her ſon to him. They all three eſcaped, and travelling in the night through by-ways got in a few days out of the territory of Corinth; but they wandered long upon the coaſt of the Ionian ſea, before they could paſs over to Corcyra. Procles, mad with rage and deſpair at the eſcape of the Queen, contrived means to confirm Periander in his ſuſpicions, and to make him believe that Meliſſa who would very ſoon be with him intended to poiſon him. The unfortunate King of Corinth liſtened with greedineſs to every thing that could inflame his jealouſy, and increaſe his rage.

In the mean while Meliſſa and Lycophron arrived with their conductor in Corcyra, and haſtened to ſee Periander; he was not in his palace, but in a gloomy foreſt, whither he often retired to indulge his grief: He no ſooner perceived the Queen at a great diſtance, but it awakened all his jealouſy and made him furious; he ran towards her; ſhe ſtretched out her arms to receive him, but as ſoon as he came near her, he drew his dagger and plunged it in her boſom. She fell with theſe words, Ah Periander! is it thus you reward my love and my fidelity? She would have proceeded, but death put an end to all her misfortunes,

tunes, and her ſoul flew away to the Elyſian fields, there to receive the recompence of her virtue. Lycophron beheld his mother weltring in her blood, he burſt into tears and cried out: Revenge, juſt Gods, revenge the death of an innocent mother, upon a barbarous father, whom nature forbids me to puniſh! This ſaid, he ran away into the wood, reſolving never to ſee his father more. The faithful Corinthian who had accompanied the Queen and Prince to Corcyra, let Periander then know the innocence and fidelity of Meliſſa, and all the miſeries which Procles had made her ſuffer in her impriſonment.

The wretched King perceived his credulity too late, gave way to his deſpair, and would have ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame poniard, but was prevented; he threw himſelf upon the body of Meliſſa, and often repeated theſe words: Great Jupiter! complete by thy thunderbolts the puniſhments which men hinder me from finiſhing! Ah Meliſſa! Meliſſa! ought the tendereſt love to have concluded thus with the moſt barbarous cruelty? It was with great difficulty he was forced away from that fatal place and led to his palace; he continued to refuſe all conſolation, and reproached his friends with cruelty, for ſeeking to preſerve a life which he deteſted. There was no way to quiet his mind but by repreſenting to him that he alone could puniſh the crimes of Procles; this hope ſoothed the anguiſh of his ſoul, and he grew calm. He went among all his allies, repreſenting his misfortunes and the uſurper's crimes; the Thebans lent him troops, he beſieged Corinth, took Procles priſoner, and ſacrificed him upon Meliſſa's tomb. But Lycophron remained ſtill at Corcyra, and refuſed to return to Corinth, that he might not ſee a father who was the murderer of a virtuous mother, whom he had tenderly loved. Periander dragged on the reſt of his unhappy life without enjoying his grandeur; he had ſtabbed a wife whom he adored;

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he loved a son who could not endure the sight of him. At length he resolved to lay down his royalty, crown his son, and retire into the island of Corcyra, there for ever to lament his misfortunes, and expiate in retirements the crimes he had committed. With these views he ordered a vessel to Corcyra to bring Lycophron to Corinth. The King impatient for his son's arrival, went often to the sea-side, the ship at length appeared. Periander run with eagerness upon the shore to embrace his only son, but how great was his surprise and grief, when he beheld Lycophron in a coffin! The Corcyreans groaning under the yoke of Periander, whose cruelties they abhorred, had revolted; and to extinguish for ever the Tyrant's race, those barbarous islanders had assassinated the young Prince, and had sent his dead body in the vessel, as a testimony of their eternal hatred. Periander struck with this sad spectacle entered deeply into himself, discerned the wrath of heaven and cried out, I have violated the oath made to a dying father; I have refused to restore liberty to my countrymen. O Melissa! O Lycophron! O vengeful Gods! I have but too well deserved all these calamities which overwhelm me! He then appointed a pompous funeral, and commanded all the people to be present at it: Some days after he ordered two slaves to go by night to a certain place, and kill the first man they should meet, and then throw his body into the sea; the King went thither himself and was murdered; his body could never be found to receive the honours of burial, nor could his shade which wanders upon the banks of Styx ever enter the mansion of heroes. What a dreadful series of crimes and misfortunes! The husband stabs his wife, rebellious subjects assassinate their Prince, the tyrant procures his own murder, and the avenging justice of the Gods pursues him beyond the grave. How dreadful a spectacle, and how instructive a lesson for Cyrus! He made haste to leave a place so full of horror.

THE

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

FIFTH BOOK.

CYRUS leaving Corinth and croſſing Bœotia, entered Attica, and ſoon after arrived at Athens, where Piſiſtratus then reigned: The young Prince was ſeized with admiration when he beheld the edifices, temples and ſplendid riches of a city where the liberal arts flouriſhed; he came at length to the King's palace: It was of a noble but plain kind of architecture; all the ornaments of the building ſeemed neceſſary parts of it; upon the freezes were repreſented, in bas-relief, the labours of Hercules, the exploits of Theſeus, the birth of Pallas and the death of Codrus. A vaſt portico of pillars, of the Ionic order, led into a great gallery adorned with paintings, braſs and marble ſtatues, and with every thing which could engage the eye and charm the ſight.

Piſiſtratus received the Prince with joy, and made him ſit down by him: The principal ſenators, with ſeveral young Athenians, ſeated themſelves round them upon rich carpets. A magnificent repaſt according to the mode of the country, was ſerved up: The moſt delicious wines were poured into golden cups finely wrought, but the Athenian politeneſs which

which ſeaſoned the converſations of Piſiſtratus, was the principal delicacy of the feaſt. During the regale the King entertained Cyrus with a general account of the revolutions which had happened in the ſtate in his time; of his exile, misfortunes and reſtoration, after having been twice dethroned. He dexterouſly painted forth in the moſt odious colours all the diſorders of a popular government, that he might create an abhorrence of it. He ſeaſoned his diſcourſe with hiſtorical remarks and lively ſtrokes of wit, which delighted all the aſſembly. Thus Piſiſtratus artfully made uſe of the charms of converſation, and of the freedom uſual at banquets, to confirm his authority and gain the good will of the Athenians. The ſenators and young men who heard him, ſeemed to forget their natural averſion to monarchy. Cyrus by this example perceived with pleaſure the empire which Princes, by their amiable qualities, may gain over the hearts even of thoſe who are the greateſt enemies to their power.

The next day Cyrus ſignified to Piſiſtratus, his impatience to be acquainted with Solon, whoſe reputation was ſpread over all Aſia. This Philoſopher after his travels, had refuſed at firſt to return to Athens, becauſe Piſiſtratus had got himſelf declared King; but having underſtood with how much wiſdom and moderation he governed, he was reconciled to him. The Sage had choſen his habitation upon Mars-Hill, where was held the famous council of Areopagus, near the tomb of the Amazons. Piſiſtratus would himſelf conduct the young Prince thither, and preſent him to the Athenian law-giver. Solon, though in a very advanced age, ſtill preſerved the remains of his ſprightly genius, that chearfulneſs and thoſe beauties of the mind which never grow old. He embraced Cyrus with that affectionate tenderneſs which is natural to old men, when young perſons ſeek their counſels and converſation in order to learn wiſdom.

wiſdom. Piſiſtratus knowing that the Prince's deſign in viſiting Solon was to inform himſelf thoroughly of the Athenian laws, retired and left them alone.

That they might diſcourſe with the greater liberty, and more agreeably, the Sage conducted him to the top of the hill, where they found a delightful verdure, and ſeated themſelves at the foot of a ſacred oak. From this place they beheld the fertile plains and craggy mountains of Attica, which bounded the view on one ſide with an agreeable mixture of every thing moſt ſmiling and wild in nature: On the other ſide the Saronic gulph widening by degrees, opened a proſpect of ſeveral iſlands, which appeared to float upon the waves. At a greater diſtance the riſing coaſts of Argolis ſeemed to loſe themſelves in the clouds, while the Great Sea, which looked as if it touched the ſkies, terminated the view, and relieved the eye, weary with ſurveying ſo great a variety of objects. Below was the city of Athens, which extended itſelf upon the declivity of a hill; the numerous buildings roſe one above another, and their different ſtructure ſhewed the different ages of the republick; it's firſt ſimplicity in the heroic ages, and it's riſing magnificence in the time of Solon: In one part might be ſeen temples with ſacred groves, magnificent palaces with gardens, and a great number of ſtately houſes of a regular architecture: In another a great many towers, high walls and little irregular buildings, which diſcovered the warlike and ruſtic taſte of ancient times: The river Iliſſus which flowed near the city, and winded through the meadows, added a thouſand natural beauties to thoſe of art. It was in this agreeable place that Cyrus deſired Solon to give him an account of the ſtate of Greece, and particularly of Athens; and the wiſe law-giver ſatisfied his curioſity in the following manner.

All the Grecian families are deſcended from Hellen, ſon of Deucalion, whoſe three children gave their

their names to the three nations of Greeks, the Æolians, Dorians and Ionians. These built themselves several cities, and from those cities came Hercules, Theseus, Minos, and all those first heroes to whom divine honours are paid, in order to shew that virtue can be fully rewarded only in heaven. Egypt first inspired the Greeks with a taste for arts and sciences, initiated them into her mysteries, and gave them both Gods and laws. Greece, being thus civilized, formed herself by degrees into several republicks. The supreme council of the Amphictions, composed of the deputies of the principal cities, united them all in the same view, which was to preserve independence abroad, and union at home. This excellent conduct kept them clear of an unbridled licentiousness, and inspired them with the love of a liberty regulated by laws, but these pure maxims did not always subsist: Every thing degenerates among men; wisdom and virtue have their vicissitudes in the body politic, as health and strength have in the natural.

Amongst all these republics, Athens and Lacedæmon are without comparison the principal. The character of Athens is wit, elegance, politeness, all the amiable and social virtues. That of the Spartans is fortitude, temperance, military virtue, and reason stript of all ornament. The Athenians love the sciences and pleasures, their great propensity is to voluptuousness. The life of the Spartans is laborious and severe; all their passions have a turn to ambition. From the different genius of these nations have proceeded the different forms and revolutions of their governments. Lycurgus followed the austerity of his natural temper, and consulted the savage fierceness of his fellow-citizens in his reformations at Lacedæmon: He considered the happiness of his country as placed in conquest and dominion; and upon that plan formed all the laws of Sparta,

Sparta, in which you have been inſtructed: It was impoſſible for me to imitate him.

Athens in the beginning had Kings, but they were ſuch only in name, and not abſolute as at Lacedæmon. The genius of the Athenians was ſo different from that of the Lacedæmonians, that it made regal power inſupportable to them. The authority of their Kings being almoſt wholly confined to the command of their armies vaniſhed in time of peace: We reckon ten from Cecrops to Theſeus, and ſeven from Theſeus to Codrus, who made a ſacrifice of himſelf to the ſafety of his country: His children, Medon and Nileus, diſputed for the throne. The Athenians took this occaſion to aboliſh intirely the regal power, and declared Jupiter ſole King of Athens; a ſpecious pretext to favour rebellion, and to ſhake off the yoke of all ſettled authority. In the place of Kings, they created perpetual governors, under the name of Archons; but even this feint image of royalty appeared odious. That they might not leave ſo much as a ſhadow of regal power, they eſtabliſhed Decennial Archons; nor was their reſtleſs humour yet ſatisfied: They reduced the duration of theſe magiſtracies to one year, that they might the oftner take into their own hands the ſupreme authority, which they never transferred to their magiſtrates but with regret. So limited a power was but ill qualified to keep ſuch reſtleſs ſpirits within bounds; factions, intrigues and cabals ſprung up every day: Each man with a book of laws in his hands, was for diſputing about the ſenſe of them. Men of the moſt lively imaginations are commonly the leaſt ſolid, and the moſt apt to create broils; they think every thing due to their ſuperficial talents: Under pretence that all men are born equal, they endeavour to confound all ranks, and preach up a chimerical equality, only that they themſelves may get the aſcendant. The council of Areopagus, inſtituted by Cecrops, reverenced

renced throughout all Greece, and so famous for it's integrity, that the Gods are said to have respected it's decisions, had no longer any authority: The people judged of every thing in the last resort, but their resolutions were not fixed and steady, because the multitude is always humoursom and inconstant. The smallest umbrages heightened the presumption, provoked the folly, and armed the fury of a multitude corrupted by an excessive liberty. Athens continued thus a long time under an impossibility of extending her dominion; happy in being able to preserve herself from total destruction, amidst dissentions which rent her in pieces. Such was the situation of my country when I undertook to remedy it's calamities.

(a) In my first years I gave myself up to luxury, intemperance and all the passions of youth, and was cured of them by the love of science, for which the Gods had given me a taste from my infancy. I applied myself to the study of morality and policy, in which I found charms that soon gave me a disgust for a loose and a disorderly life. The intoxication of my passions being dispelled by serious reflections, I beheld with concern the sad condition of my country; I turned my thoughts to provide a remedy, and communicated my scheme to Pisistratus, who was likewise come off from the follies of youth. You see, said I to him, the miseries which threaten us: An unbridled licentiousness has taken the place of true liberty; you are descended from Cecrops, and I from Codrus: We have more right to pretend to the royal power than any other, but let us take care not to aspire to it. It would be a dangerous exchange of passions, to forsake sensuality, which hurts only ourselves, in order to pursue ambition, which might be the ruin of our country: Let us endeavour

(a) *Plut. Life of Solz.*

to

to be ſerviceable to her without attempting to bring her under our dominion.

An occaſion ſoon preſented to facilitate my projects. The Athenians choſe me to be chief of an expedition againſt the Megarians, who had ſeized the iſland of Salamis. I embarked with five hundred men, made a deſcent upon the iſland, took the city, and drove away the enemy. They ſtill inſiſted on the juſtice of their pretenſions, and choſe the Lacedæmonians to be judges of it: I pleaded the common cauſe and gained it. Having by theſe actions acquired credit among my countrymen, they preſſed me to accept of the regal dignity, but I refuſed it, and applied myſelf to cure the publick evils in quality of Archon.

The firſt ſource of all thoſe evils was the exceſſive power of the people. Monarchical authority moderated by a ſenate, was the primitive form of government in all wiſe nations. I was deſirous to imitate Lycurgus in the eſtabliſhment of it, but was too well acquainted with the natural temper of my countrymen to undertake it. I knew that if they ſuffered themſelves to be ſtripped of the ſovereign power, they would ſoon take it back again by open violence; I therefore contented myſelf with ſetting bounds to it. I was thoroughly ſenſible that no ſtate can ſubſiſt without ſome ſubordination: I diſtributed the people into four claſſes, and choſe an hundred men out of each claſs, whom I added to the council of Areopagus; I ſhewed theſe chiefs that ſovereign authority of what kind ſoever is but a neceſſary evil for preventing greater evils; and that it ought only to be employed to reſtrain mens paſſions. I repreſented to the people the miſchiefs they had ſuffered by giving themſelves up to their own fury: By this means I diſpoſed the one to command with moderation, and the other to obey with readineſs.

I cauſed

I caused those to be punished severely who taught, that all men are born equal, that merit only ought to regulate ranks, and that the greatest merit a man can have is wit. I made the Athenians sensible of the fatal consequences of such false maxims. I proved to them that the natural equality, which those men talked of, is a chimera founded upon the poetical fables of the companions of Cadmus and the children of Deucalion; that there never was a time, in which men rose in that manner out of the earth, in a state of perfect manhood; that it was ridiculous to offer the sports of the imagination for principles; that ever since the golden age, the order of generation had made a necessary dependance and inequality among men; and lastly, that paternal authority had been the first model of all governments. I made a law by which every man who had given no other proof of his good sense, than lively sallies of imagination, florid discourses and the talent of talking upon all subjects, without going to the bottom of any thing, was declared incapable of public employments.

Here Cyrus interrupted Solon, and said to him: But after all, methinks merit is what ought to make the distinction among men. Wit is the lowest sort of merit, because it is always dangerous when alone; but wisdom, virtue and valour give a natural right to govern. He alone ought to command others who has most wisdom to discover what is just, most virtue to adhere to it, and most courage to put it in execution. Merit, replied Solon, essentially distinguishes men, and ought solely to determine ranks: but ignorance and passions often hinder us from discerning it; self-love makes each man pretend to it; the most deserving are the most modest, and never seek to rule. Besides, that which appears to be virtue, is sometimes nothing but a deceitful mask. Disputes, discord and illusion would be endless, if there was

was not ſome rule more fixed, certain and palpable than merit alone, whereby to ſettle ranks and degrees. Theſe ranks are regulated in ſmall republics by election, and in great monarchies by birth. I confeſs it is an evil to grant dignities where there is no real merit, but it is a neceſſary evil, and this neceſſity makes the difference between the natural and civil right: The one is always conformable to the moſt perfect juſtice, the other is often unjuſt in the conſequences, but is neceſſary to prevent confuſion.

It was not ſo (d) under the reign of Saturn; in that golden age God was the univerſal Prince and common Father of all; he himſelf took care of the ſuſtenance of men and governed them; he was their guardian and ſhepherd; there were then no magiſtrates nor civil polity as now, every one followed THE LAW WHICH IS, and not that WHICH HAS BEEN MADE. Under the reign of Jupiter, the maſter of the univerſe having, as it were, quitted the reins of his empire hid himſelf in an inacceſſible retreat, the foundations of the world were ſhaken by motions contrary to it's principle and it's end, and it loſt it's beauty and it's luſtre; then it was that good and evil were mingled together; ignorance and paſſions made civil laws and civil magiſtrates neceſſary; theſe laws are often imperfect, and theſe magiſtrates are not always good; but we are obliged to obſerve the one and ſubmit to the other, leſt the world ſhould fall into perpetual anarchy. All men are brethren and each man has a right to whatever he has need of; they are children of the ſame father, and no one ſhould lord it over another; but if there were not laws eſtabliſhed to ſettle ranks and property among men, the avarice and ambition of the ſtrongeſt would invade all: Theſe laws are not always founded upon

(a) *See Diſc. p.* 342.

what is beſt in itſelf, but upon what is leaſt miſchievous to ſociety. Such is the ſource of almoſt all political eſtabliſhments. Aſtrea muſt return upon earth before merit alone will determine the fortunes of men; at preſent we muſt often content ourſelves with leſs equitable deciſions. Ranks and dignities are, after all, but the ſhadows of real grandeur. The external reſpect which is paid to them, is likewiſe but the ſhadow of that eſteem which belongs to virtue alone. Is it not an inſtance of great wiſdom in the firſt law-givers, to have preſerved order in ſociety by eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations, that thoſe who have only the ſhadow of virtue are ſatisfied with the ſhadow of eſteem?

I underſtand you, ſaid Cyrus, ſovereignty and ranks are neceſſary evils to keep the paſſions within bounds. The lower ſort ſhould be content with meriting the internal eſteem of men, by their plain and modeſt virtue; and the great ſhould be perſuaded that nothing but outward homage will be paid them unleſs they have true merit. By this means the one ſort will not be dejected or repine at their low condition, nor the other pride themſelves in their grandeur; men will become ſenſible that Kings are neceſſary, and Kings will not forget that they are men; each man will keep himſelf within his own ſphere, and the order of ſociety will not be diſturbed. I ſee clearly the beauty of this principle, and am very impatient to know your other laws.

The ſecond ſource of the miſeries of Athens, ſaid Solon, was the exceſſive riches of ſome, and the extreme poverty of others; this terrible inequality in a popular government occaſioned eternal diſcord: I durſt not attempt to remedy this miſchief by eſtabliſhing a community of goods as at Sparta; the genius of the Athenians, which carries them to luxury and pleaſures, would never have ſuffered ſuch an equality: But in order to diminiſh our evils I cancelled all

all debts; I began by remitting thoſe which were due to me; I enfranchiſed all my ſlaves, and forbad any one for the future to pledge his liberty for what he borrowed. I never taſted ſo much pleaſure as in relieving the miſerable; I was ſtill rich, but I thought myſelf poor, becauſe I had not enough to diſtribute ſomething to all the unfortunate; I eſtabliſhed at Athens this uſeful maxim, that all the members of the ſame commonwealth ought to feel and compaſſionate the miſeries of one another, as parts of the ſame body.

The third ſource of our calamities was the multiplicity of laws, which is as evident a token of the corruption of a ſtate, as a diverſity of medicines is of the diſtempers of bodies. Here again I could not imitate Lycurgus; community of goods and an equality of all the members of a republic, render uſeleſs a great many laws and forms, which are abſolutely neceſſary where there is an inequality of ranks and property. I contented myſelf with aboliſhing all thoſe laws which ſerved only to exerciſe the ſubtle genius of the ſophiſts, and the ſkill of the lawyers, reſerving only a ſmall number of ſuch as were ſimple, ſhort and clear; by this means I put a ſtop to contentious chicane, that monſtrous invention of crafty knaves to elude juſtice; I fixed certain times for the final determination of law-ſuits, and ordained ſevere and diſgraceful puniſhments for the magiſtrates, who ſhould lengthen them beyond the bounds preſcribed; laſtly I repealed the too ſevere laws of Draco, which puniſhed the ſmalleſt tranſgreſſions and the greateſt crimes equally with death; and I proportioned the puniſhment to the offence.

The fourth ſource of our misfortunes was the bad education of children; none but ſuperficial qualities, wit, bright imagination and gallantry, were cultivated in young perſons; the heart, reaſon, noble

ſentiments and ſolid virtues were neglected; the value both of men and things was rated by appearances and not by reality; the Athenians were ſerious about trifles, and looked upon ſolid matters as too abſtracted. In order to prevent theſe miſchiefs, I ordained that the council of Areopagus ſhould ſuperintend the education of children: I would not have them educated in ſuch ignorance as the Spartans, nor confined as before to the ſtudy of eloquence, poeſy, and thoſe ſciences, which ſerve only to adorn the imagination. I would have them apply their thoughts to all thoſe kinds of knowledge which help to fortify reaſon, habituate the mind to attention, and are ſerviceable for acquiring penetration and judgment; the proportion of numbers, the calculation of the celeſtial motions, the ſtructure of the univerſe, the great art of knowing how to mount up to firſt principles, deſcend to conſequences, and diſcover the whole ſeries of truths, with their dependance upon one another. Theſe ſpeculative ſciences, nevertheleſs, ſerve only to exerciſe and cultivate the mind in early youth. The Athenians in a riper age apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the laws, policy and hiſtory, to learn the revolutions of empires, the cauſes of their riſe, and the occaſions of their fall; in a word, to every thing which may contribute to the knowledge of man and of men (a).

The fifth and laſt ſource of our evils was an immoderate fondneſs for pleaſures; I knew that the temper of the Athenians required amuſements and publick ſhows; I was ſenſible that I could not ſubdue thoſe republican and untractable ſouls, but by making uſe of their inclination towards pleaſure, to captivate and inſtruct them. In theſe public ſhows

(a) *Piſiſtratus eſtabliſhed a kind of academy for cultivating all the ſciences, and erected a library containing a collection of all the ancient poets, philoſophers and hiſtorians.*

I cauſed

I cauſed to be repreſented the fatal conſequences of their diſunion, and of all the vices prejudicial to ſociety; by this means multitudes of men aſſembled in the ſame place, were induced to ſpend whole hours in hearing leſſons of a ſublime morality; they would have been diſguſted with dry precepts and cold maxims; and there was no way to inſtruct, unite, and correct them, but under pretence of amuſing them. Such were my laws and inſtitutions.

I ſee very well, ſaid Cyrus, that you have conſulted nature more than Lycurgus has done; but on the other hand, have you not been too indulgent to human weakneſs? It ſeems dangerous in a republic, which has always been inclined to voluptuouſneſs, to endeavour the uniting of men by their taſte for pleaſures. I could not, replied Solon, change the nature of my countrymen; my laws are not perfect, but are the beſt which they could bear. Lycurgus found in his Spartans a genius apt to all heroic virtues; I found in the Athenians a bent towards all the vices which make men effeminate. I will venture to ſay, that the laws of Sparta by carrying the virtues to an extreme, transform them into faults; my laws, on the contrary, tend to render even the weakneſſes of men uſeful to ſociety. This is all that policy can do; it does not change men's hearts, it only makes the beſt advantage of their paſſions.

I thought, continued Solon, to have prevented or cured the greateſt part of our evils by the eſtabliſhment of theſe laws, but the reſtleſſneſs of a people accuſtomed to licentiouſneſs occaſioned me daily vexations: Some blamed my regulations, others pretended not to underſtand them; ſome were for making additions to them, others for retrenching them. I perceived then how uſeleſs the moſt excellent laws are without a fixed and ſtable authority to put them in execution. How unhappy is the lot of mortals? By endeavouring to avoid the ter-

rible evils of popular government they run a riſque of falling into ſlavery; by flying the inconveniencies of regal power they become expoſed by degrees to anarchy. The path of juſt policy is bordered on both ſides with precipices. I ſaw that as yet I had done nothing. I went therefore to Piſiſtratus and ſaid to him: You ſee all the endeavours I have uſed to cure the diſtempers of the ſtate; my remedies are all uſeleſs for want of a phyſician to apply them. This people is ſo impatient under a yoke, that they dread the empire of reaſon itſelf; all ſubjection to laws is inſupportable to them; every one is for reforming them after his own faſhion; I am going to abſent myſelf from my country for ten years; I ſhall avoid by that means the perplexity and trouble to which I am daily expoſed, of ſpoiling the ſimplicity of my laws by adding to them and multiplying them: Endeavour to accuſtom the Athenians to them in my abſence, and ſuffer no alteration in them. I have refuſed to accept the regal dignity which has been offered me; a true legiſlator ought to be diſintereſted; but for you, Piſiſtratus, your military virtues qualify you for government, and your natural humanity will hinder you from abuſing your authority; make the Athenians ſubject without making them ſlaves, and reſtrain their licentiouſneſs without taking away their liberty; avoid the title of King and content yourſelf with that of Archon. Having taken this reſolution, I went to travel in Egypt and Aſia. Piſiſtratus, in my abſence, mounted the throne notwithſtanding the averſion of the Athenians to regal power; his addreſs and his courage raiſed him to it, and his mildneſs and moderation maintain him on it; he diſtinguiſhes himſelf from his countrymen chiefly by an exact ſubmiſſion to the laws; and his manner of life is plain, without pageantry and pomp. Beſides, the Athenians reſpect him as he is deſcended from Cecrops, and becauſe he has only reſumed the

the authority of his anceſtors for the good of his country. As for me, I ſpend my days here in ſolitude without meddling with the government; I content myſelf with preſiding in the Areopagus, and explaining my laws when any diſpute ariſes about their meaning. The Prince of Perſia ſaw clearly, by the diſcourſe of Solon, the inconveniencies of a popular government, and that deſpotic power in the multitude is more inſupportable than abſolute authority in a ſingle perſon.

Cyrus having inſtructed himſelf in the laws of Solon and the government of the Athenians, applied himſelf afterwards to learn their military ſtrength; it conſiſted chiefly in their fleets. Piſiſtratus conducted him to Phalerus, a maritime town ſituated at the mouth of the Iliſſus; this was the ordinary place of retreat for the Athenian ſhips; for the famous port Pyræeus was made afterwards by Themiſtocles. They went down the river accompanied by Araſpes and ſeveral Athenians in a bark made on purpoſe; while delightful muſic charmed the ear and governed the motion of the oars, the Prince deſired the King of Athens to give him a more particular account than he had done at firſt of the various revolutions which had happened under his reign. Piſiſtratus ſatisfied his curioſity in the following manner:

(b) You know that when I firſt formed the deſign of making myſelf King, the ſtate was rent in pieces by two factions; Megacles was the head of one party and Lycurgus led the other; Solon put an end to our diviſions by his wiſe laws, and went ſoon after into Aſia. In his abſence I gained the hearts of the people, and by artifice and addreſs obtained guards for my perſon; I made myſelf maſter of the fortreſs and was proclaimed King. In order to engage more

(b) *See Herod. lib.* 1. *and Plut. life of Solon.*

thoroughly the good will of the people, I ſlighted any alliance with the Princes of Greece, and married Phya daughter of a rich Athenian of the Pæanean tribe. Love united with policy: Beſides her ſurprizing beauty, ſhe had all the qualities worthy of a throne, and all the virtues of a noble ſoul: I had loved her in my youth, but ambition had diverted my paſſion.

I governed in peace for ſome years, but at length the inconſtancy of the Athenians ſignally ſhewed it ſelf anew. Lycurgus raiſed a general murmuring againſt me, under pretence that I was exhauſting the public treaſury to maintain uſeleſs fleets; he artfully ſpread it abroad, that my only deſign in augmenting our naval ſtrength, was to make myſelf maſter of Greece, that I might afterwards invade the liberty of the Athenians; and he laid a plot to take away my life; he communicated his deſign to Megacles, who abhorred the treaſon and gave me notice of it. I took all poſſible precautions to avoid falling a victim to the jealouſy of Lycurgus. The traitor however found means to raiſe an inſurrection, and the fury of the people grew to ſuch a height, that they ſet fire to my palace in the night; I ran to the apartment of Phya, but it was already conſumed by the flames, and I had but juſt time enough to ſave my ſelf with my ſon Hippias; I eſcaped in the dark, and fled to the iſland of Salamis, where I concealed myſelf two whole years: I doubted not but that Phya had periſhed in the flames; and how great ſoever my ambition was, her death affected me infinitely more than the loſs of my crown.

During my exile the animoſity of Megacles againſt Lycurgus revived, and their differences threw the city again into the utmoſt confuſion; I gave Megacles notice of the condition I was in, and the place of my retreat; he ſent a propoſal to me to return to Athens, and offered me his daughter in mar-

marriage: In order to engage the Athenians to come into our measures, we had recourse to religion, and corrupted the priests of Minerva; I left the island of Salamis; Megacles came and joined me at a temple some furlongs from Athens; he was accompanied by several senators and a crowd of people; sacrifices were offered, and the entrails of the victims examined, upon which the high-priest declared in the name of the Goddess, that her city could not be happy but by my restoration, whereupon I was crowned with solemnity. The better to impose upon the people, Megacles chose out from among the young priestesses, her who was of the most majestic stature, and armed her like the daughter of Jupiter; she wore the dreadful Ægis upon her breast, and held in her hand a shining lance, but her face was vailed: I seated myself with her in a triumphal chariot, and we were conducted to the city; trumpeters and heralds went before, and cried with a loud voice, people of Athens receive Pisistratus whom Minerva resolving to honour above all other mortals brings back to you by her priestess (c). The gates of the town were immediately opened, and we went directly to the fortress where my marriage was to be celebrated; the priestess stept down from her chariot, and taking me by the hand, led me into the inner apartment of the palace: As soon as we were alone she took off her vail, and I perceived that it was Phya; imagine the transports of my joy; my love and my ambition were both crowned the same day; she gave me a brief account of her escaping the flames, and of her retiring to the temple of Minerva upon the report of my undoubted death.

Megacles, seeing all his projects disconcerted by the Queen's return, employed his thoughts to dispossess me again; he persuaded himself that I had

(c) *Herod. lib.* 1.

acted in concert with Phya to deceive him by false hopes: he spread a rumour at Athens that I had corrupted the Pontif, and had abused religion to impose upon the people: They rose in arms against me a second time, and besieged the fortress; Phya seeing the cruel extremities to which I was reduced, and apprehending the effects I might feel of the fury of a superstitious and enraged multitude, resolved to leave me; she thought herself obliged to sacrifice her own happiness to that of her country, and Minerva without doubt inspired her to make this sacrifice. So great an example of generosity filled me with admiration, overwhelmed me with sorrow, and redoubled my love. Megacles, being informed of Phya's flight, offered me peace, upon condition that I would divorce the Queen and marry his daughter; but I resolved to renounce my crown, rather than be false to my duty and my love. The siege was renewed with more vigour than ever, and after a long resistance I was obliged to give way to the storm; I left Attica and made my escape into Eubœa.

I wandered a great while in that country, till being discovered and persecuted by Megacles, I retired into the island of Naxos: I entered into the temple of Minerva to pay my devotion to the protectress of Athens; just as I had ended my prayer, I perceived an urn upon the altar, and going near it, I read this inscription: 'Here rest the ashes of Phya, whose 'love to Pisistratus and her country made her a 'willing victim to their happiness.' This mournful spectacle renewed all my sorrows, yet could I not tear myself away from that fatal place; I often went to the temple to bewail my misfortunes; it was my only remaining consolation in this lonely condition, in which I suffered hunger, thirst, the inclemency of the seasons, and all sorts of misery. One day while I was plunged in the most melancholy reflections and in a profound silence, I know not whether

in

in a vision or a divine dream, but the temple seemed to shake, and the top of it to open; I beheld Minerva in the air in the same form as when she came out of the head of Jupiter, and I heard her pronounce these words in a majestic and threatning tone: 'It is thus the Gods punish those who abuse 'religion, by making it subservient to their ambi-'tion.' My soul was seized with a sacred horror; the presence of the Goddess confounded me, and laid open before my eyes all my crimes; I continued a great while without sense or motion; from that time my heart was changed; I discerned the true source of all my misfortunes; I detested that false policy which makes use of wiles, artifice and mean dissimulation; I resolved for the future to employ no methods but what were noble, just and magnanimous, and to make it my endeavour to render the Athenians happy, in case the Gods should be appeased and should suffer me to re-ascend the throne: The Gods were appeased, and delivered me from my exile. My son Hippias engaged the Argians and several cities of Greece to assist me; I went and joined him in Attica; I first took Marathon and then advanced towards Athens; the Athenians came out of the city to give me battle; I sent some children on horseback to them, to assure them that I did not come to invade their liberties, but to restore the laws of Solon: This moderation removed their fears, they received me with acclamations of joy, and I ascended the throne a third time. My reign has never since been disturbed; but I understand that Megacles who is retired to Corinth has engaged the Corinthians to lend him a fleet, and I am daily making preparations to withstand the invasion with which he threatens me.

Pisistratus was in this manner discoursing with Cyrus, when they arrived at Phalerus; the haven stretched itself in form of a crescent; great chains

went from one ſide to the other to be a barrier to the ſhips, while ſeveral towers at certain diſtances ſerved to defend the mole. The two Princes went up with Araſpes to a temple of Venus built upon the ſummit of mount Colias, from whence they diſcovered a fleet under full ſail, making towards Phalerus. Piſiſtratus preſently diſcerned the Corinthian flag, and going down to the port went aboard his fleet, giving orders to weigh anchor and meet the enemy. The wind changed on a ſudden and favoured Piſiſtratus; the two fleets came up with each other, and were ranged in order of battle: A foreſt of maſts formed on one ſide three lines of a vaſt length, whilſt a triple line of Athenian veſſels, bending into the figure of a half-moon, preſented an oppoſite foreſt upon the water; The heavy armed ſoldiers were poſted upon the decks, the bowmen and ſlingers at the prow and poop. The trumpet gave the ſignal to begin the attack; the galleys on both ſides firſt drew back, then advanced and ſtruck againſt each other with violence; they pierced and tore each other with their iron beaks; ſome ſtruck againſt the prow, others againſt the poop, and others againſt the ſides, while thoſe veſſels which were attacked preſented their oars to break the violence of the ſhock. The two fleets mixed, grappled and came to a cloſe fight; here the Athenian ſoldiers flung themſelves from one ſhip to another, there the Corinthians threw bridges to board the enemy.

Cyrus followed Piſiſtratus every where, and by his courage ſupplied his want of experience in this ſort of fight. Giving way to his ardor he would have thrown himſelf into one of the enemies ſhips, but fell into the ſea: Several arrows were ſhot at him, but he plunged into the water, ſaved himſelf by ſwimming, and got on board an Athenian galley, which Piſiſtratus ſent to his aſſiſtance. Aſhamed of his want of dexterity, he reſolved to periſh or repair

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his misfortune: He ordered the rowers to advance to the veſſel where Megacles was in perſon, he came up with it, and with a flaming dart ſet fire to it; the Athenian rebel endeavoured to eſcape, but periſhed in the fire. Piſiſtratus and his captains followed the example of Cyrus; the wind freſhened and blew high; the flames mixed with the waves; the Corinthians threw themſelves into the water to eſcape: The ſea was ſoon covered with men ſwimming amidſt rudders and rowers ſeats: This ſad ſpectacle continued till the Corinthian fleet was quite diſperſed by the wind, or conſumed by the flames. After the action Cyrus was wholly employed in ſaving the lives of thoſe who were upon the point of periſhing: Then he returned into the port, and ſpent ſome days at Phalerus to obſerve the manner of building ſhips, and to learn the names and uſes of all their different parts.

When Piſiſtratus had given all the neceſſary orders for repairing his galleys, he took Cyrus with him in a chariot, and returned to Athens by a terraſs which ran along the banks of the river Iliſſus. By the way he diſcourſed with the Prince of the naval force of the Athenians, the ſchemes he had laid to augment it, the advantages which might be drawn from it for the ſecurity of Greece againſt foreign invaſions, and laſtly of the uſefulneſs of commerce with regard to the navy. Hitherto, ſaid he, the Athenians have applied their thoughts rather to grow rich than great, and this has been the ſource of our luxury, licentiouſneſs and popular diſcords; whereever a people carry on commerce only to increaſe their wealth, the ſtate is no longer a republic, but a ſociety of merchants, who have no other bond of union but the deſire of gain. The generous love of their country is no longer thought of when the public good interferes with their private intereſt. I have endeavoured to prevent theſe miſchiefs; our ſhips

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ſubſiſt by their trade in time of peace, and are of ſervice in defending our country in time of war; by this means commerce contributes not only to enrich the ſubject, but to augment the ſtrength of the ſtate; the public good unites with the intereſt of each private ſubject, and trade does not in the leaſt diminiſh military virtue.

When Cyrus was returned to Athens Piſiſtratus and Solon carried him to ſee their dramatic entertainments. Magnificent theatres, pompous decorations, and the nice rules which have been ſince obſerved, were not then known. Tragedy was not in that perfection to which it was brought by Sophocles, but it anſwered all the views of policy for which it had been introduced. The Greek poets, in their dramatic pieces, uſually repreſented the tyranny of Kings, in order to ſtrengthen the averſion of the Athenians to regal government; but Piſiſtratus directed the deliverance of Andromeda to be acted. The poet has ſcattered throughout his tragedy ſeveral ſtrokes of panegyric, which were the more ingenious, as they might be applied not only to Perſeus, but to Cyrus who was deſcended from him. After this entertainment Solon led the young Prince to his retreat on Mars-Hill to take a repaſt there; it was more frugal than that at the palace of Piſiſtratus, but not leſs agreeable. During this repaſt Cyrus deſired the wiſe old man to explain to him the political deſign and principal parts of tragedy, which he did not yet underſtand.

Solon, who was himſelf a poet, anſwered: The theatre is a living picture of the virtues and paſſions of men; Imitation deceives the mind into a belief that the objects are really preſent and not repreſented. You have formerly read our poet Homer, the drama is only an abridgment of epic poeſy; the one is an action recited, the other an action repreſented; the one recounts the ſucceſſive triumphs of virtue over

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vice and fortune, the other repreſents the unforeſeen miſchiefs cauſed by the paſſions; the one may abound with the marvellous and ſupernatural, becauſe it treats of heroic exploits, which the Gods alone inſpire; but in the other the natural muſt be joined with the ſurpriſing, to ſhew the genuine effects and play of human paſſions; the heaping of wonders upon wonders tranſports the mind beyond the limits of nature, but it only excites admiration; on the contrary, by deſcribing the effects of virtue and vice, both without us and within us, man is brought to ſee and know himſelf, the heart is touched while the mind is delighted and amuſed. To reach the ſublime the poet muſt be a philoſopher; the moſt beautiful flowers, graces and paintings only pleaſe the imagination without ſatisfying the heart or improving the underſtanding; ſolid principles, noble ſentiments and various characters muſt be diſperſed throughout, in order to diſplay to us truth, virtue and nature. Man muſt be repreſented as he is and as he appears, in his native colours and under his diſguiſes, that the picture may reſemble the original, in which there is always a contraſt of virtues and imperfections. At the ſame time it is neceſſary to conform to the weakneſs of mankind; too much moralizing tires, too much reaſoning chills the mind; we muſt turn maxims into action, convey noble ſentiments by a ſingle ſtroke, and inſtruct rather by the manners of the hero than by his diſcourſe.

Theſe are the great rules founded upon human nature, and the ſprings which muſt be put in motion to make pleaſure ſerviceable to inſtruction. I foreſee that one day theſe rules may be improved; hitherto I have contented myſelf with making the theatre a ſchool of philoſophy for the young Athenians, and uſeful to their education. It argues an ignorance of human nature to think of leading it to wiſdom at once by conſtraint and ſeverity: During the

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ſprightlineſs and fire of youth, there is no fixing the attention of the mind but by amuſing it; this age is always upon it's guard againſt precepts, and therefore that they may be reliſhed it is neceſſary to diſguiſe them under the form of pleaſure.

Cyrus admired the great deſigns both political and moral of the theatre, and ſaw clearly at the ſame time that the principal rules of tradegy are not arbitrary, but taken from nature. He thought he could not better ſhew his thankfulneſs to Solon for his inſtructions, than by letting him ſee the impreſſion they had made upon him. I now perceive, ſaid he, that the Egyptians are much in the wrong to deſpiſe the Greeks, and eſpecially you Athenians: They look upon your graces, your delicacies, and your ingenious turns as frivolous thoughts, ſuperfluous ornaments and childiſh prettineſſes, which denotes a puerility of mind and a weakneſs of genius, which will not ſuffer you to riſe higher. But I ſee that you have a nicer taſte than other nations, that you are better acquainted with human nature, and know how to make pleaſures inſtructive. The people of other countries are moſtly affected with bold flights, violent tranſports, and bloody cataſtrophes: It is for want of ſenſibility that we do not diſtinguiſh like you the different ſhades of human thought and paſſion; we are not acquainted with thoſe ſoft and ſweet pleaſures that ariſe from delicate ſentiments. Solon touched with the politeneſs of the Prince's diſcourſe, could not forbear embracing him and ſaying: Happy the nation that is governed by a Prince who travels over the earth and ſeas, to carry back into his own country all the treaſures of wiſdom! Cyrus ſoon after prepared to leave Athens, and at parting made the ſame promiſe to Piſiſtratus and Solon which he had made to Chilo and Leonidas, of being ever a faithful ally to Greece: He embarked with Araſpes at the port of Phalerus in a Rhodian veſſel which was bound for Crete.

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The Prince's deſign in going thither was not only to ſtudy the laws of Minos, but likewiſe to ſee Pythagoras who had ſtopped there in his way to Croton: All the Eaſtern Magi, whom that ſage had ſeen in his travels, had ſpoken of him to the Prince with encomiums; he was eſteemed the greateſt Philoſopher of his age, and to underſtand beſt of all men the ancient religion of Orpheus: His diſpute with Anaximander the naturaliſt had filled all Greece with his fame, and divided all the learned; Araſpes had been informed of this matter by the philoſophers of Athens, and during the voyage gave Cyrus the following account of it.

Pythagoras, who was deſcended from the ancient Kings of the iſland of Samos, had been captivated with the charms of wiſdom from his tendereſt years; he diſcovered even from that time a ſuperior genius and a ſovereign taſte for truth. Not finding at Samos any Philoſopher who could ſatisfy his eager thirſt for knowledge, he left it at eighteen years of age to ſeek elſewhere what he could not meet with in his own country; after having travelled for ſeveral years in Egypt and Aſia, he returned home fraught with all the ſciences of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, Gymnoſophiſts and Hebrews; the ſublimity of his genius was equal to the extent of his learning, and the excellent qualities of his heart ſurpaſſed both; his lively and fertile imagination did not hinder the juſtneſs of his reaſoning.

Anaximander had gone from his own country Miletus to the iſland of Samos; he had all the talents which can be acquired by ſtudy, but his underſtanding was more ſubtile than profound, his notions more glittering than ſolid, and his deluding eloquence full of ſophiſtry: He was impious in the very bottom of his ſoul, yet affected all the outward appearances of an extravagant ſuperſtition; he held as divine truths all the fables of the poets, and ſtuck to the literal

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ſenſe of their allegories ; he adopted all the vulgar opinions as principles, in order to degrade religion, and make it monſtrous.

Pythagoras loudly oppoſed theſe miſchievous maxims, and endeavoured to clear religion of thoſe abſurd opinions which diſhonoured it. Anaximander had known Pythagoras from his infancy, he had inſtructed him in all the ſecrets of natural philoſophy, and had loved him with the affection of a father ; but after the young Samian returned from his travels, the Mileſian became jealous of his talents, and reſolved to ruin him as an ingrate, who uſurped upon his rights, obſcured his glory, and was like to be the oracle of Greece ; he covered himſelf with the vail of a deep hypocriſy, and accuſed Pythagoras of impiety ; he ſecretly made uſe of all arts to incenſe the people and alarm Polycrates, who then reigned at Samos ; he addreſſed himſelf to all the ſects of philoſophers, and to the prieſts of the different Divinities, to perſuade them that the Samian Sage, by teaching the unity of one ſole Principle, deſtroyed the Gods of Greece : The King eſteemed and loved Pythagoras, yet he ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the artful repreſentations of Anaximander : The Sage was baniſhed from court, and obliged to quit his country. He leads at preſent a retired life in the iſland of Crete, and there ſtudies wiſdom without books or converſation. Having ſearched deep into all the myſteries of nature, and diſcerned thoſe marks of an infinite Wiſdom and Power, with which every part of the univerſe abounds, he ſoars upon the wings of contemplation, that he may unite himſelf to the ſovereign truth, whoſe impreſſions he receives without the medium of words or ſounds (a) : This inſpiration, as I am told, is nothing like that enthu-

(a) *See the notion of Simmias the Philoſopher in Plutarch concerning Socrates's genius.*

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siasm which heats the mind and agitates the body; but it gradually stills the noise of the senses and imagination, imposes silence on all vain reasonings, and brings the soul to an inward calm, that resembles the repose of the Gods themselves, whose infinite activity does not in the least diminish their perfect tranquillity. In this sublime state Pythagoras practises all the human and social virtues, but it is with an ultimate regard to the Gods, and in imitation of their veracity and goodness; he is modest, affable, polite, delicate in all his sentiments, disinterested in all his actions, speaks little, and never displays his talents but to inspire the love of virtue. This account of the Samian Philosopher gave Cyrus a greater desire to see him, and to learn the particulars of his dispute. The wind continued favourable, and the vessel in a few days made the island of Crete.

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

SIXTH BOOK.

CYRUS no sooner arrived in Crete, but he went strait to Gnossus, the capital of that island, famous for the wonderful labyrinth made by Dedalus, and the stately temple of Jupiter Olympius.

Olympius. This God was there repreſented without ears, to know that the ſovereign Lord of the univerſe has no need of bodily organs to hear the complaints and prayers of men (a). The temple ſtood within a large encloſure in the midſt of a ſacred wood; the entrance into it was through a portico of twenty pillars of Oriental granate; the gate was of braſs finely carved, and was adorned on the ſides with two large figures, the one repreſenting Truth, the other Juſtice. The fabrick was an immenſe arch, which let in light only at the top, in order to hide from the eye all objects abroad except the heavens. The inſide was a periſtyle of porphyry and Numidian marble: At certain diſtances one from another were ſeveral altars conſecrated to the celeſtial Gods, with the ſtatues of terreſtrial Divinities between the pillars; the dome was covered on the outſide with plates of ſilver, and adorned on the inſide with the images of heroes, who had been deified for their merit.

Cyrus entered this temple; the ſilence and majeſty of the place filled him with awe and reſpect: He proſtrated himſelf and adored the Divinity preſent: He had learnt from Zoroaſter that the Jupiter Olympius of the Greeks was the ſame with the Oromazes of the Perſians, and the Oſiris of the Egyptians. He then caſt his eye over all the wonders of art which beautified this place; he was leſs ſtruck with the richneſs and magnificence of the altars, than with the nobleneſs and expreſſion of the ſtatues: As he had learnt the Greek Mythology, he could eaſily diſtinguiſh all the Divinities, and diſcern the myſteries couched in the allegorical figures that were before him. What drew his attention more eſpecially, was to ſee that each of the celeſtial Deities held in his hand a golden tablet; upon theſe tablets were written the exalted ideas of Minos in religion, and

(a) *Plut. of Iſis and Oſiris.*

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the ſeveral anſwers which the oracle had given that law-giver, when he conſulted them about the nature of the Gods, and the worſhip they required.

Upon the tablet of Jupiter Olympius were to be read theſe words: 'I give being, life and motion 'to all creatures (b); no one can know me but he 'who ſeeks to reſemble me (c).' Upon that of Pallas: 'The Gods make themſelves known to the heart, 'and conceal themſelves from thoſe who endeavour 'to comprehend them by the underſtanding alone (d).' Upon that of the Goddeſs Urania: 'The divine 'laws are not chains to fetter us, but wings to raiſe 'us to the bright Olympius (e).' Upon that of the Pythian Apollo was this ancient oracle: 'The Gods 'take leſs delight to dwell in heaven than in the 'ſoul of the juſt, which is their true temple (f).' While Cyrus was meditating on the ſublime ſenſe of theſe inſcriptions, a venerable old man entered the temple, proſtrated himſelf before the ſtatue of Harpocrates, and remained there a long time in profound ſilence. Cyrus ſuſpected it to be Pythagoras, but durſt not interrupt his devotion. Pythagoras (for it was he) having paid his homage to the Gods, roſe up and perceived the two ſtrangers: He imagined, that in the air and mein of Cyrus he ſaw the ſame marks which Solon had deſcribed, when he gave him notice of the young Prince's intended voyage to Crete; he accoſted him with a ſalutation, and made himſelf known.

The Samian ſage, that he might not diſturb the ſilence which ought to be obſerved in a place dedicated to the adoration of the immortal Gods, led Cyrus and Araſpes into the ſacred wood adjoining to the temple. Cyrus then ſaid to him: What I

(b) Ζῶμεν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ ϑνητὰ, καὶ κινέμεθα καὶ ἐσμεν. *Epimen.* See Hammond on *Acts of Apoſt. chap. xvii. ver.* 28.
(c) *Plat. Epinom.* (d) *Ibid.* (e) *Plat. de Rep.*
(f) *Hierocl. aur. carm.*

have

have seen upon the golden tablets gives me a high notion of your religion; I made haste to come hither, not only to be instructed in the laws of Minos, but to learn from you the doctrine of Orpheus about the golden age; I am told that it resembles that of the Persians concerning the empire of Oromazes, and that of the Egyptians relating to the reign of Osiris; it is a pleasure to see the traces of those great truths in all nations; vouchsafe to unfold to me your ancient traditions. Solon, replied Pythagoras, acquainted me with your design of coming into this island; I was going to Croton, but I have put off my voyage to have the pleasure of seeing a hero, whose birth and conquests have been foretold by the oracles of almost all nations: I will conceal nothing from you of the mysteries of wisdom, because I know that you will one day be the law-giver of Asia as well as it's conqueror. After this they sat down near a statue of Minos in the sacred wood, and the Philosopher rehearsed to them all the Mythology of the first Greeks, making use of the poetic stile of Orpheus, which by it's paintings and images rendered sensible the sublimest truths.

(g) In the golden age the inhabitants of the earth lived in a perfect innocence: Such as are the Elysian fields for heroes, such was then the happy abode of men; the intemperature of the air, and the war of the elements were unknown; the North winds were not yet come forth from their deep grottos; the zephyrs only enlivened all things with their soft and gentle breezes; neither the scorching heats of summer, nor the severities of winter were ever felt; the spring crowned with flowers, and the autumn loaded with fruits, reigned together; death, diseases and crimes durst not approach these happy places. The soul was not then imprisoned in a gross mortal body

(g) *See the Disc. p.* 319.

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as it is now ; it was united to a luminous, heavenly, ethereal body (h), which ſerved it as a vehicle to fly through the air, riſe to the ſtars, and wander over all the regions of immenſity. Sometimes thoſe firſt men repoſing themſelves in odoriferous groves, taſted all the pureſt pleaſures of friendſhip ; ſometimes they ſat at the tables of the Gods, and were feaſted with nectar and ambroſia ; at other times Jupiter, attended by all the Divinities, mounted his winged chariot, and conducted them above the heavens. The poets have not celebrated, nor known that (i) HIGHEST PLACE ; it was there that the ſouls beheld truth, juſtice and wiſdom in their ſource ; it was there that with the eyes of the pure ſpirit they contemplated the firſt Eſſence, of whoſe brightneſs Jupiter and the other Gods are but ſo many rays ; there they were nouriſhed with beholding that object, till being no longer able to ſupport it's ſplendor, they deſcended again to their ordinary abode. The Deities at that time took a pleaſure in converſing with men ; the ſhepherdeſſes were loved by the Gods, and the Goddeſſes did not diſdain the love of ſhepherds ; the graces accompanied them every where, and theſe graces were the virtues themſelves ; but alas ! this golden age was of no long duration.

One day men neglected to follow Jupiter's chariot, ſtayed in the fields of Hecate, got drunk with nectar, loſt their taſte for pure truth, and ſeparated the love of pleaſure from the love of order. The ſhepherdeſſes viewed themſelves in fountains, and became idolaters of their own beauty ; each had her thoughts wholly taken up about herſelf ; love forſook the earth, and together with him all the cœleſtial Divinities diſappeared : The Sylvan Gods were changed into Satyrs,

(h) *The Pythagoreans and Platoniſts, called this ſubtile vehicle of the ſoul,* Σῶμα αὐγοειδὲς ἠρέμιον, αἰθέριον. *See Cudworth, p.* 785, *to p.* 800.

(i) Τοπος ὑπερουράνιος. *See Diſc. p.* 327.

the Napææ into Bacchæ, and the Nayads into Syrens; the virtues and the graces were no longer the ſame; and ſelf-love, the parent of all vices, begot ſenſuality, the ſource of all miſeries. Nature was quickly transformed in this lower ſphere: The ſun had no longer the ſame force, nor the ſame mildneſs, it's light was obſcured; our globe fell to ruins, the abyſs was opened and overflowed; it was divided by ſeas into iſlands and continents; the fruitful hills became craggy rocks, and the delightful valleys frightful precipices: Nothing remained but ruins of the old world drowned in the waters. The wings of the Soul were clipt; it's ſubtile vehicle was broken; and ſpirits were thrown down into mortal bodies, where they undergo divers tranſmigrations, till they are purged of their crimes by expiatory pains. (l) The ethereal body was contracted, impriſoned, and buried in a living ſepulchre, a coarſe covering, which is ever changing, which does not continue one moment the ſame, and is ſomething merely accidental to our ſubſtance: The immortal ſeed, the incorruptible body, the ſubtile vehicle is at preſent the ſeat of the ſoul, and the channel of communication between the pure ſpirit and the groſs body, the hidden ſpring of all the motions and operations of our walking carcaſs. It was thus that the iron age ſucceeded to the golden, and it will laſt ten thouſand years; during which time Saturn conceals himſelf in an inacceſſible retreat; but in the end he will reſume the reins of his empire, and reſtore the univerſe to it's original ſplendor: All ſouls will then be re-united to their principle. This, continued Pythagoras, is the allegory by which Orpheus has made us underſtand the firſt condition of man, and the miſery into which he is fallen. Our mortal body is the puniſhment of our crimes, and the diſorder of

(l) *See Diſc. p.* 296.

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our heart is an evident proof of our being degraded.

I perceive, said Cyrus, that the principles of Zoroaster, Hermes and Orpheus are the same: Their allegories abound with the sublimest truth; why then will your priests reduce all to an outward worship? They have spoken to me of Jupiter only as of a law-giver, who promises his nectar and ambrosia, not to solid virtues, but to the belief of certain opinions and the observance of some ceremonies which are of no use either to enlighten the mind, or to purify the heart. The corruption and avarice of the priests, replied Pythagoras, is the source of all these mischiefs. The ministers of the Gods, who were established at first to make men good, turn the priesthood into a vile trade; they mind only the outward shew of religion. The vulgar, not understanding the mysterious meaning of the sacred rites, fall into a gross superstition, while the bold wits give themselves up to impiety. Some despise even the purest antiquity; others deny the necessity of an outward worship; others arraign the eternal Wisdom, because of the evils and crimes which happen here below. Anaximander and his audacious school actually spread abroad at this time throughout all Greece, that God and Nature are the same thing. Every one forms a system after his own fashion, without respecting the doctrine of the ancients.

When Cyrus heard him name Anaximander, he said to him, I have been informed of the cause of your disgrace and exile; and have a great desire to know the particulars of your dispute with that Milesian Philosopher; tell me in what manner you combated this doctrine. It may help very much to preserve me from those dangerous maxims. I have already seen at Ecbatan several Magi who talked the same language with Anaximander: The errors of the human mind are pretty near the same in all

countries and in all times. The particulars of that diſpute, anſwered Pythagoras, will be long, but I ſhall not affect to ſhorten them leſt I ſhould become obſcure. Upon my return to Samos, continued the Philoſopher, after my long travels, I found that Anaximander, who was now advanced in years, had ſpread every where his impious doctrine: The young people had embraced it; the love of novelty, the inclination to flatter their paſſions, the vanity of thinking themſelves wiſer than other men, had blinded their underſtandings and drawn them into theſe errors. In order to remedy theſe miſchiefs, I attacked the principles of the Mileſian; he made me be cited before a tribunal of Pontifs in the temple of Apollo, where the King and all the people of the city were aſſembled; he began by repreſenting my doctrine under the moſt odious form, gave falſe and malicious turns to my words, and endeavoured to make me ſuſpected of the impiety of which he himſelf was guilty: I then roſe up and ſpoke in the following manner.

O King! image of the great Jupiter! prieſts of Apollo! and you citizens of Samos! hearken to me and judge of my innocence; I have travelled among all the different nations of the univerſe to learn wiſdom, which is only to be found in the tradition of the ancients; I have diſcovered, that from the origin of things men adored but one ſole eternal Principle; that all the Gods of Greece are but different names to expreſs the attributes of the Deity, or the properties of Nature, which is the image of him. All that we can conceive of the ſupreme Eſſence preſents itſelf to the mind under the three forms of goodneſs, wiſdom and power; the ſovereign good, the principle of all beings, the intelligence which deſigned the plan of the world and the energy which executed it. The Orientals call theſe three forms

(a) ORO-

(a) OROMAZES, MYTHRA and MYTHRAS; the Egyptians OSIRIS, ISIS and ORUS; the Thracians URANUS, URANIA and LOVE; the Tyrians BELUS, VENUS and THAMMUZ; the Greeks JUPITER, MINERVA and APOLLO. Sometimes we repreſent theſe three forms of the Divinity by the principal parts of nature, as the ſun, the moon and the earth, and we call them PHOEBUS, PHOEBE and PAN; at other times by the elements of fire, air and water, and we ſtile them VULCAN, JUNO and NEPTUNE; one while by that prolific virtue which produces wine, corn and fruits, and they are called BACCHUS, CERES and VERTUMNUS; often by the juſtice they exerciſe in the infernal regions, and they bear the names of PLUTO, PROSERPINE and MINOS: Moreover the firſt Form of the Divinity is repreſented by his eternity as he is the moſt ancient of all beings, and we call it COELUS, CHRONUS and SATURN: The ſecond Form by his fecundity as containing the ſeeds of all things, and we ſtile it RHEA, VESTA and CYBELE: The third Form by the authority he exerciſes in the government of the world, and we call it MARS as the arbiter of war, MERCURY as the ambaſſador of the ſupreme God, HERCULES as a hero who purges the earth of monſters. Thus we expreſs the three attributes of the Deity which comprehend the totality of his nature by the original Father the author of all beings, the immortal Virgin the mother of nature, and the ſon of Jupiter the emanation from thoſe two principles. (b) All theſe names nevertheleſs denote but one and the ſame power which drew all beings viſible and inviſible out of nothing; but mankind have confounded the work with the artificer, the image with the original, the ſhadow with the ſubſtance;

(a) *See Diſc. p.* 281, 282. *compared with p.* 309.
(b) *See Diſc. p.* 287.

they have forgotten the ancient doctrine, they have loſt the meaning of our allegories, and ſtop at the outward ſymbols without entring into the ſpirit of them: This is the ſource of thoſe numberleſs errors which prevail at preſent throughout all Greece, degrade religion, and render it contemptible. Moreover I find that it is a ſtedfaſt maxim in all nations, that men are not what they were in the golden age, that they are debaſed and degraded, and that religion is the only means to reſtore the ſoul to it's original grandeur, to make her wings grow again, and to raiſe her to the ethereal regions from whence ſhe is fallen. It is neceſſary firſt to become man by civil and ſocial virtues, and then to reſemble the Gods by that love of the SOVEREIGN BEAUTY, ORDER and PERFECTION, which makes us love virtue for itſelf: This is the only worſhip worthy of the immortals, and this is all my doctrine.

Anaximander then roſe up in the midſt of the aſſembly; his age, talents and reputation gained him a ſilent and univerſal attention. Pythagoras, ſaid he, deſtroys religion by his refinements; his love of ORDER is a chimera; let us conſult nature, let us ſearch into all the ſecret receſſes of man's heart, let us interrogate men of all nations, we ſhall find that ſelf-love is the ſource of all our actions, all our paſſions, and even all our virtues: Pythagoras loſes himſelf in his abſtract reaſonings; I keep to ſimple nature, and there I find my principles: The feeling and ſentiment of all hearts authoriſes my doctrine, and this kind of proof is the ſhorteſt and moſt convincing.

Anaximander, anſwered I, ſubſtitutes irregular paſſions in the room of noble ſentiments, he always repreſents what men ordinarily do, as the ſtandard of what they ought to do; but the weakneſs of nature blinded and enfeebled by the paſſions is not the rule of nature enlightened and fortified by the ſovereign reaſon; he affirms boldly, but he proves nothing;

nothing; this is not my method; my proofs are these, they seem to me clear and solid. The sovereign will of the great Jupiter ought to be the universal rule of our will; he loves all beings more or less, in proportion to their resemblance with him; it is the degree of this resemblance which constitutes the beauty, truth and goodness of each intelligence. The father of Gods and men loves himself as the sovereign good, and all other beings as his emanations; and this should be our rule: Self-love, to be regular, must be the effect and not the cause of our love for the supreme good; the love of the INFINITELY GREAT should be the ground of our love for the INFINITELY LITTLE; the love of the original, the motive of our love for the pictures. This is the eternal law, the immutable order, and the love of the sovereign beauty.

Anaximander interrupted me with a disdainful smile and answered; Pythagoras imposes upon you by words without meaning, by abstracted ideas that are of no use in social life, by chimeras hatched in the empty brain of idle sophists who exhaust themselves in vain speculations; what is this eternal law? this order conformable to it? this love of the sovereign beauty with which he continually dazzles our eyes? let him explain himself clearly, and all his fine-spun notions will vanish into smoke.

(c) The law, replied I, is the intelligence which produced all things, the sovereign reason of the great Jupiter, the divine Minerva who incessantly springs from his head. The order conformable to this law is founded upon the different degrees of reality which the All-producing Spirit has given to his works, the immutable relations and essential differences which are between them. The love conformable to this order is to prefer that which is more

(c) *See Hierocles on the golden verses of Pythag. p.* 14.

perfect to that which is less so, not only in all kinds but in the several species and individuals (d). Lastly, the sovereign beauty has no perfect similitude with any thing we behold on earth, or in the heavens; whatever else is beautiful is only so by a participation of it's beauty; all other beauties may increase, decay, change or perish, but this is still the same in all times and in all places; it is by contemplating the different degrees of transient, variable and finite beauty, and by carrying our thoughts beyond them all, that we at length reach to that supreme Beauty which is simple, pure, uniform, immutable, without colour, figure or human qualities. Anaximander pretends this doctrine is a chimerical idea, and a vain refinement which has no influence in social life, but all the philosophers and legislators have thought otherwise; Hermes, Orpheus and Minos laid it down as a fundamental principle that a man must prefer the public good to his private interest from the sole love of goodness, justice and perfection: It was to this order that Codrus thought himself bound to sacrifice not only his crown but his life; his view in conforming to this order was not to render himself happy, on the contrary he believed it his duty to devote himself to death, and to make no account of himself because the love of order exacted it. If we can love nothing but with reference to ourselves, each member of society will come by degrees to consider himself as an independent being made for himself; there will be no reason to sacrifice private interest to public good; noble sentiments and heroic virtues will be destroyed: Nor is this all, every concealed crime will soon be authorised; if virtue be not amiable for itself, each man will forsake it when he can hide himself from the eyes of the public; he will commit all crimes

(d) *See Plat. fest. ed. Steph. p.* 211.

without

without remorse when interest carries him to it, and he is not with-held by fear; and thus is all society dissolved; whether therefore you consider religion or policy, both conspire to prove my doctrine.

Here Anaximander answered: Pythagoras is unacquainted with the nature of the soul; the desire of happiness constitutes the essence of the will; pleasure is the great law both of mortal and immortal natures, it's attractive force is irresistible, and it is the only moving spring of man's heart; the sight of perfection acts upon us only by the pleasing sensation it causes in us.

We always love with pleasure, answered I, but we do not always love for the sake of pleasure. As the delight which accompanies the perception of truth is not the reason why we acquiesce in truth, so the pleasure which accompanies the view of order is not the reason why we love justice. That which determines the pure act of the will, both in the one and the other case, is the perception of the immutable relations, and essential differences between beings; to know these relations and these differences is truth; to act according to these relations and differences is virtue. We may follow justice for the good it procures us, but we cannot love it but for itself, that only, for the sake of which we love, being properly the object of our love (e). As the most unjust of all men would be he, who, while he committed all sorts of crimes, should pass for just, and so enjoy the honours of virtue and the pleasures of vice; so the perfectly just man would be he who should love justice for itself, and not for the honours and pleasures which accompany it; who should pass for unjust while he practised the most exact justice; who should not suffer himself to be

(a) *See Plat. Rep. lib. 2. p. 36.*

moved by ignominy, diſtreſs, or the moſt cruel ſufferings, but ſhould continue ſtedfaſt in the love of juſtice, not becauſe it is delightful, but becauſe it is juſt. It is thus that the Gods do good from the pure love of good; the ſoul is an image of their ſubſtance, conſequently ſhe may imitate them, and love virtue for itſelf; the perception of truth may act as ſtrongly upon her as the ſenſation of pleaſure.

Ever ſince the iron age began, men are ſo blinded that they do not comprehend this ſublime love of virtue; the Philoſophers themſelves arrive to it but by ſlow degrees; wiſdom, in purifying the heart, accommodates herſelf to the weakneſs of our diſtempered and imperfect nature (f). The divine Themis inebriates us at firſt with heavenly delights to counterbalance in us the weight of terreſtrial pleaſures. She allures us by a ſweet ſmile, enchants us by her looks all charming, tranſports us by the amiable truths ſhe preſents to the mind; we then adhere to virtue for the ſake of thoſe ſweets that accompany it: But in proportion as the ſoul withdraws from outward objects, her love becomes more exalted, more delicate and more generous; ſhe enters deeply into herſelf, concentres all her powers, and retires into her ſpiritual nature; ſhe ſees all the windings and turnings of the heart, ſhe diſcovers all the enormities of her ſelf-love, which made her refer all her virtues to herſelf, and practiſe them only out of vanity, that ſhe might become the idol of men by an uſurpation upon the rights of the Gods; ſhe ſuffers inexpreſſible pains to expiate theſe ſecret iniquities; ſhe at length gets out of herſelf, riſes above herſelf, ſeparates and diſengages herſelf from

(f) *See Plotinus, Pſellus, Jamblichus, Porphyry and the Platonifts of the third century, when they ſpeak of the purification of the ſoul.*

every

every thing, that she may be united to the immutable Beauty, and behold him with that eye with which alone he can be seen; then it is that she brings forth not the shadows of virtue, but the virtues themselves, she becomes immortal and the friend of God (g). Such is the immutable law of Themis, the human virtues are acquired with pleasure, but deification only by sufferings, and by being stript of every thing that is mortal and terrestrial in us. It was thus that Hercules found exquisite pleasures in his twelve labours, and in all the exploits of an heroic virtue; but he was not deified till he had passed through the purifying flames of Themis, which your poets have represented by those of his funeral-pile on mount Oeta. They consumed the poisoned robe of the Centaur, of the monster Typhon, and of the evil principle, which that son of Jupiter had put on to give us an example of perfect virtue; in the midst of the devouring flames he rejoiced at the destruction of all that he had received from his mother Alcmene; the sight of the immutable order so ravished and transported him out of himself, that he could not give a thought to his own happiness.

Here Anaximander cried out with fury, Pythagoras is ignorant of the history of the Gods, he says we must resemble them, they swim in delights above, and descend upon earth only to please themselves with the terrestrial Goddesses; Jupiter himself is an instance of it; to imitate them is to pursue pleasure; Pythagoras artfully endeavours to create in you a brutal indifference for the feast of the Gods, make you despise Nectar and Ambrosia, and destroy in you the invincible desire of happiness natural to all intelligences; I give you warning of the horrible consequences of his system, beware of his sophistry.

(g) *Plato's feast, p.* 212.

(h) Juſtice, replied I with an intrepid air, is amiable for itſelf; if we love it only for the advantages it procures us, we are not good, but politic; it is the higheſt injuſtice to love juſtice only for the ſake of reward; to aſpire to the table of the Gods merely to pleaſe and delight ourſelves, is not to love the ſovereign good, it is to degrade it and make it ſubſervient to our intereſt. It was thus that ſouls fell from the ſublime place in heaven, they loved nectar and ambroſia more than truth, and ſeparated the love of pleaſure from the love of order. To love the ſovereign BEAUTY only as beneficent, is to love him for the finite participation of his gifts; it is to love him for what he does in us, and not for what he is in himſelf; it is to ſeparate the ſovereign goodneſs from the ſupreme juſtice; to love the immutable BEAUTY for his perfection, is to love him for his immenſe totality; it is to love him for what we know of him, and not for what we feel of him; it is to love without meaſure the Being without limits; and it is this love which dilates, elevates, deifies, and gives a kind of immenſity to the ſoul. I maintain therefore with all the ancients that we are not to deſire admittance to the table of the Gods, but as a ſtate in which we are united to the ſovereign BEAUTY, transformed into his image and perfected in his love. Is Olympus leſs the object of our deſire, becauſe we deſire it from a motive worthy of the Gods? Do we love the Gods the leſs, becauſe we prefer their friendſhip to the nectar that is drunk at their table?

O Samians! Anaximander endeavours not only to cloud your minds, but to corrupt your manners; he deceives you by ſticking to the literal ſenſe of your Mythology. The Gods who are exempt from human frailties do not deſcend upon earth to ſatisfy

(b) *See Diſc. p.* 307.

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any paſſions ; all that wiſe antiquity tells us of the amours of Jupiter and the other Divinities, are but an ingenious allegory to repreſent the pure communications of the Gods with mortals ſince the iron age. Your Philoſophers always deſcribe virtue to us as a divine energy deſcending from heaven, they continually ſpeak of guardian Deities, who inſpire, enlighten and ſtrengthen us, to ſhew that herioc virtues can proceed from the Gods alone ; but thoſe poets who ſeek only to pleaſe and to ſtrike the imagination by heaping wonders upon wonders, have disfigured your Mythology by their fictions.

Here Anaximander cried out again with an air of zeal and enthuſiaſm ; Will you ſuffer, O Samians, your religion to be thus deſtroyed, by turning it's myſteries into allegories, blaſpheming againſt the ſacred books of your poets, and denying the moſt undoubted facts of tradition ? Pythagoras overthrows your altars, your temples and your prieſthood, that he may lead you to impiety, under pretence of deſtroying ſuperſtition. A confuſed murmur immediately aroſe in the aſſembly ; they were divided in their ſentiments ; the greateſt part of the prieſts called me impious, and an enemy of religion. Perceiving then the deep diſſimulation of Anaximander, and the blind zeal of the people who were deluded by ſophiſtry, it was impoſſible for me to contain myſelf, and raiſing my voice, I ſaid :

O King, prieſts and Samians, hearken to me for the laſt time. I would not at firſt lay open the myſteries of Anaximander's monſtrous ſyſtem, nor endeavour in a public aſſembly to render his perſon odious as he has laboured to do mine ; hitherto I have reſpected his grey hairs, but now that I ſee the pit of deſtruction into which he ſeeks to hurry you, I can no longer be ſilent without being falſe to the Gods and to my country. Anaximander ſeems to you to be zealous for religion, but in reality he en-

deavours to deſtroy it. Hear what his principles are, which he teaches in ſecret to thoſe who will liſten to him. There is nothing in the univerſe but matter and motion; in the fruitful boſom of an infinite matter every thing is produced by an eternal revolution of forms; the deſtruction of ſome is the birth of others; the different ranging of the atoms is what alone makes the different ſorts of minds, but all is diſſipated and plunged again into the ſame abyſs after death. According to Anaximander, that which is now ſtone, wood, metal, may be diſſolved and transformed not only into water, air and pure flame, but into rational ſpirit; according to him our own idle fears have dug the infernal pit, and our own ſcared imagination is the ſource of thoſe famous rivers which flow in gloomy Tartarus; our ſuperſtition has peopled the cœleſtial regions with Gods and Demi-Gods, and it is our vanity which makes us imagine that we ſhall one day drink nectar with them; according to him goodneſs and malice, virtue and vice, juſtice and injuſtice, are but names which we give to things as they pleaſe or diſpleaſe us; men are born vicious or virtuous, as tygers are born fierce, and lambs mild; all is the effect of an invincible fatality, and we think that we chooſe only becauſe the ſweetneſs of pleaſure hides the force which irreſiſtibly draws us. This, O Samians, is the dreadful precipice to which he would lead you.

While I was ſpeaking, the Gods declared themſelves. Before the diſpute the high prieſt of Delphos had been conſulted about my doctrine; his deciſions are always agreeable to the will of the great Apollo; the anſwer he ſent to the prieſts of Samos was this; 'You accuſe Pythagoras of erring through 'an exceſs of love for the ſupreme Beauty, and I 'accuſe you of erring through a want of friendſhip 'for your fellow citizen; the God whom I ſerve

'equally

'equally abhors thoſe who aſpire not to the plea-
'ſures of Olympus, and thoſe who deſire them only
'to gratify their paſſions; mortals have often need
'to think of nectar and ambroſia, in order to re-
'ject the enchanting cup of Circe which transforms
'men into hogs; but when the Goddeſs Minerva
'deſcends into heroes, they perform noble actions
'from noble motives; pure pleaſures accompany
'them, glory environs them, immortality follows
'them, but virtue is alone their object.' Scarce had they read this anſwer of the pontif, when a divine voice ſeemed to come from the innermoſt part of the temple, and to ſay, '(i) The Gods do
'good for the ſole love of good, you cannot ho-
'nour them worthily but by reſembling them.' The prieſts and the multitude, who were more ſtruck with the prodigy than they had been with the truth, changed their ſentiments and declared in my favour. Anaximander perceived it, and imagining that I had corrupted the pontifs in order to delude the people, hid himſelf under a new kind of hypocriſy, and ſaid to the aſſembly, The Oracle has ſpoken and I muſt be ſilent: I believe, but I am not yet enlightened; my heart is touched, but my underſtanding is not convinced; I deſire to diſcourſe with Pythagoras in private, and to be inſtructed by his reaſonings. Being moved and ſoftened with Anaximander's ſeeming ſincerity, I embraced him with tears of joy in the preſence of the King and the pontifs, and conducted him to my own houſe. The impious wretch, imagining that it was impoſſible for a man of ſenſe not to think as he did, believed that I affected this zeal for religion only to throw a miſt before the eyes of the people and gain their ſuffrages. We were no ſooner alone than he changed his ſtile and ſaid to me:

(i) *See Hier. aur. carm.*

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The diſpute between us is reduced to this queſtion; whether the eternal Nature acts with wiſdom or deſign, or takes all ſorts of forms by a blind neceſſity: Let us not dazzle our eyes with vulgar prejudices; a Philoſopher cannot believe but when he is forced to it by a complete evidence; I reaſon only upon what I ſee, and I ſee nothing in all nature but an immenſe matter and an infinite activity; this active matter is eternal; now an infinite active force muſt, in an eternal duration, of neceſſity give all ſorts of forms to an immenſe matter; it has had other forms than what we ſee at preſent, and it will take new ones; every thing has changed, and does change, and will change, and this is ſufficient for the production not only of this world, but of numberleſs worlds inviſible to us.

What you offer, replied I, is nothing but ſophiſtry inſtead of proof. You ſee nothing in all nature, ſay you, but an infinite activity and an immenſe matter; I allow it; but does it follow from thence, that the infinite activity is a property of matter? Matter is eternal (add you) and it may be ſo, becauſe the infinite force which is always acting may have always produced it; but do you conclude from thence that it is the only exiſting ſubſtance? I ſhall agree alſo that an all-powerful, active force may in an eternal duration give all ſorts of forms to an immenſe matter; but is this a proof that that force acts by a blind neceſſity and without deſign? Though I ſhould admit your principles, I muſt deny your conſequences, which ſeem to me abſolutely falſe. My reaſons are theſe:

The idea which we have of matter does not include that of active force; matter does not ceaſe to be matter when in perfect reſt; it cannot reſtore motion to itſelf when it has loſt it; from whence I conclude that it is not active of itſelf, and conſequently that infinite force is not one of it's properties.

ties. Further, I perceive in myself and in several beings with which I am encompassed, a reasoning principle which feels, thinks, compares and judges: Motion only changes the situation or figure of bodies; now it is absurd to suppose that matter without thought and sensation can become sensible and intelligent merely by shifting it's place, or changing it's figure; there is no connexion between these ideas; I allow that the quickness of our sensations depends often upon the motion of the humours in the body, and this proves that spirit and body may be united, but by no means that they are the same; and from the whole I conclude, that there is in nature another substance besides matter, and consequently that there may be a sovereign intellect much superior to mine, to yours, and to those of all other men. In order to know whether there be such an intellect, I sally out of myself, I run over all the wonders of the universe, I observe the constancy and regularity of it's laws, the fruitfulness and variety of it's productions, the connexion and suitableness of it's parts, the conformation of animals, the structure of plants, the order of the elements and the revolutions of the heavenly bodies: I cannot doubt but that all is the effect of art, contrivance and a supreme wisdom. I then draw a vail over all the beings with which I am incompassed; I consider them only as phantoms, mere appearances and illusions; I shut my eyes, I stop my ears, I return again into myself, to consider that reasoning principle which I have already proved not to be material, which might subsist though all bodies were annihilated, and which shews me all objects without presenting itself to my view. Since there cannot be an eternal succession of effects without a cause, it follows necessarily that he who made this intelligent principle must be himself intelligent; hence I conclude that the INFINITE FORCE which you acknowledge

knowledge to be in nature is a SOVEREIGN INTELLIGENCE. When I thus return into myſelf, I again perceive the great Jupiter whom you would hide from my eyes; I find myſelf at preſent alone with him, he is ſufficient to me, he continually acts upon me, he is the cauſe of all my ſenſations and of all my thoughts; he can repreſent numberleſs worlds to me, though there were nothing in all nature but he and I. Earth, air and heaven, planets and ſtars, univerſal nature, I behold you no more; vain ſhadows, imperfect images, diſfigured pictures, you are vaniſhed away, I perceive nothing but your original and your cauſe, I am ſwallowed up, I loſe myſelf in his boſom, and I need only feel my own being to be convinced of his.

I remember, ſaid Cyrus, that Zoroaſter laid open to me all theſe truths: A ſuperficial view of the wonders of the univerſe might leave the mind in ſome uncertainty, but when we deſcend to particulars, when we enter into the ſanctuary of nature, and ſtudy it's ſecrets, laws and effects to the bottom, when we are well acquainted with ourſelves, and compare what we feel within us with what we ſee without us, it is impoſſible any longer to heſitate: I do not ſee how Anaximander could reſiſt the force of your arguments.

He anſwered me, Your reaſoning is plauſible, but has no ſolidity in it; you always ſhun the main queſtion by the dextrous agility of your mind. I agree with you, that there cannot be an eternal ſucceſſion of effects without a (k) firſt cauſe; this would be an infinite chain hanging upon nothing, an immenſe weight without a ſupport; I likewiſe allow that the

(k) *Spinoza never ſuppoſed an eternal ſucceſſion of ſecond cauſes without a firſt. He confutes that opinion by Mr. Wollaſton's argument, which is the ſame that Anaximander uſes here. See Spin. Epiſt.* 29.

idea of matter does not include that of active force, as the idea of active force does not include that of wisdom; because the different attributes of one and the same essence may be separately conceived. Lastly, I grant that bodies do not become intelligent by changing of place and figure; but you ascribe to matter properties which it has not: Matter and extension are the same thing (l); now you know that extension has neither colour, nor smell, nor taste; and I add, that it has neither fixed bounds, nor distinct parts, nor real motions: All these qualities are but ideas (m), or perceptions of the soul, caused by the action of the immense (n) extension, which shews itself successively to us under different forms: This principle being laid down my real doctrine is this. We cannot banish from our minds the ideas of eternity, immensity and infinity, they every where present themselves to us; we can explain nothing without them; these three properties are therefore the attributes of some eternal, immense and (o) absolutely infinite Being; there can be no other (p) substance but his, it is one and it is all; it is the universal being, and is both (q) extended and intellectual; what makes the (r) diversity of beings is not any real distinction of substance, but the difference of form; the (s) eternal nature acts continually within itself, by itself and upon itself, according to the whole extent of it's infinite power, and thereby necessarily produces all

(l) *Descartes.* (m) *Dr. Berkley.* (n) *F. Malebranche.*

(o) *Spinoza says expressly the same things, Deus est Ens absolutè infinitum.* (p) *Præter Deum nulla dari neque concipi potest substantia.* (q) *Cogitatio est attributum Dei, sive Deus est res cogitans. Extensio est attributum Dei, sive Deus est res extensa. Substantia cogitans & substantia extensa una eademque est substantia, quæ jam sub hoc jam sub illo attributo concipitur.*

(r) *Res particulares nihil sunt nisi Dei attributorum modi.*

(s) *Ex necessitate naturæ divinæ infinita infinitis modis sequi debent. Deus est omnium rerum causa immanens, non verò transitus.*

sorts

ſorts of forms; this boundleſs (z) power is not reſtrained by thoſe rules which are called wiſdom, goodneſs and juſtice, for theſe belong to finite beings, and by no means to the infinite. Let me ſee you attack this ſyſtem with ſolid reaſons, without ſeeking to dazzle my eyes with metaphors, allegories and the looſe declamations of an orator.

I anſwered; If you only maintained, that all eſſences are but different forms of the divine eſſence, that our ſouls are portions of the ſoul of the world, and our bodies parts of his immenſe extenſion, you would not be an atheiſt, but you would hold abſurdities with many other (a) philoſophers who have a ſincere abhorrence of all impiety. They ſuppoſe as you do that there is in all nature but one ſubſtance, that the whole univerſe is an emanation from the divine eſſence, or an expanſion of it; but they believe that there is an infinite Spirit who preſides over all ſpirits, a ſovereign wiſdom that governs the world, a ſupreme goodneſs that loves all it's productions; they never imagined as you do, that the one only ſubſtance acts without intelligence or juſtice, without knowing or having any regard to the immutable relations and eſſential differences between beings; your atheiſm lyes there; and what proof do you offer for your opinion? In order to demonſtrate and convince, is it enough to heap propoſition upon propoſition, take for granted, and affirm boldly?

He replied with an haughty aſſurance, my whole ſyſtem turns upon this ſingle (b) principle, that there is

(z) *Intellectus, voluntas, amor ad modos Dei ſive entia particularia pertinent, non ad ſubſtantiam æternam & infinitam. Vid. Spin. Eth. Part* 1. *Def.* 6. *Prop.* 8, 13, 16, 18, 25, 31. *& Part* 2. *Prop.* 1, 2, 7, 10. *& Scholia.*

(a) *It was the opinion of the Stoicks, of ſome of the diſciples of Orpheus, and of the ancient Pantheiſts, and is held by ſome of the modern Chineſe. See Diſc. p.* 296.

(b) *All Spinoza's book, his definitions, axioms, propoſitions, corollaries*

is but one only ſubſtance in nature; this being demonſtrated, all the reſt follows by neceſſary and unavoidable conſequence. Now this great principle I prove thus; when the eternal Being produces new ſubſtances, he gives them ſomething or nothing; if he gives them nothing he will never produce any thing, if he gives them a part of his own eſſence, he does not produce a new ſubſtance, but a new form; this is demonſtration: Provided the unity of ſubſtance be not deſtroyed, it is indifferent to me how it is called, whether ſoul or body, ſpirit or matter, intelligent or intelligible extenſion (c).

When the great Jupiter, ſaid I, creates, he does not draw a being out of nothing, as out of a ſubject which contains in it ſome reality, neither does he divide his eſſence to make a ſeparate ſubſtance of it, but he makes ſomething exiſt which did not exiſt before: Now to make a ſubſtance exiſt which was not before, has nothing in it more inconceivable than to make a form exiſt which was not before; ſince in both caſes there is a new reality produced, and whatever difficulties there are in conceiving the paſſage from non-exiſtence to being, they are as puzzling in the one as in the other: You cannot deny

rollaries and ſcholia tend to prove this principle or flow from it; this once deſtroyed, all this ſyſtem falls to the ground.

(c) *This is the uſe which the Spinoziſts have made of the ſyſtems maintained by Deſcartes, Malebranche, and Dr. Berkley, contrary to the intention of thoſe three Philoſophers. The firſt ſays, that matter and extenſion are the ſame thing; the ſecond affirms, that the immediate object of our ſenſations is an intelligible, eternal, immutable, infinite extenſion; the third endeavours to prove, that there is no ſuch thing as body, that all is ſpirit. Malebranche thinks that Deſcartes does not extend his principle far enough; and Berkley accuſes Malebranche of ſtopping too ſoon: The Spinoziſts pretend to reconcile all three by admitting but one only ſubſtance: It muſt nevertheleſs be allowed that there is an eſſential difference between theſe three Philoſophers and Spinozia, ſince they teach that there is a real diſtinction between the infinite Eſſence and created eſſences.*

a creating

a creating (d) energy, without denying for the ſame reaſon all active force. Thus your eternal nature is reduced to a formleſs maſs, or to an infinite ſpace without action and power, as well as without wiſdom and goodneſs. Where will you find an active Deity to reduce that chaos to order, or to fill that immenſe ſpace: But I will reſtore you, out of compaſſion, that active principle and that moving force, which you have need of to form your world; I will ſuppoſe, contrary to all reaſon and evidence, that your eternal nature acts as neceſſarily as it exiſts, you will gain nothing by this conceſſion, you will only plunge yourſelf into a new abyſs of contradictions more abſurd and more frightful than the firſt. You cannot deny that there are in nature beings who ſuffer, and other that do not ſuffer, intelligences that are ignorant, and others who have knowledge; ſome who deny, others who affirm, and others who doubt of the ſame things; intelligences who love and hate the ſame objects, and who often change their thoughts, ſentiments and paſſions: Now is it conceivable that the ſame immutable, immenſe, infinite Subſtance ſhould be at the ſame time knowing and ignorant, happy and unhappy, a friend and an enemy of it's own nature? Does this monſtrous aſſemblage of variable, bounded, fantaſtical and jarring forms ſquare with the attributes you aſcribe to the eternal Nature? You may weaken your underſtanding by too much refining, you may exhauſt yourſelf by ſpinning a thin web of ſophiſms, you may wrap yourſelf up in theſe cobwebs, and endeavour to entangle light fluttering minds in them; but I defy you to conſider attentively the conſequences of your ſyſtem without horror and ſhame: What motive is it that could induce you to prefer the ſyſtem of a blind nature to that of a wiſe intelligence? Do but aſcend

(d) *Plato calls it* Παντικὴ δύναμις. *See Diſc. p.* 299.

to

to first principles, make use of that accuracy in which you formerly excelled, and you will find that the infinite Being, which you admit equally with me, is not universal being, but a being vastly distinct from all others; that he has produced new substances as well as new forms; that he knows himself and all his productions; that he loves himself essentially, and all other beings in proportion to the degrees of reality he has communicated to them; that he is by consequence supremely powerful, wise and good; that it is absurd to conceive what is only power, wisdom and goodness, under the form of length, breadth and thickness; that he may exist every where without extension of parts, as he knows every thing without succession of thoughts; that infinite extension is not his immensity, as infinite time is not his eternity; that space is only the manner in which bodies exist in him, as time is only the manner in which created beings exist with him; and lastly, that variable and finite beings are not different forms of his substance, but free effects of his power. Examine geometrically this chain of consequences drawn from the idea of the eternal, immense, infinite Being; descend from the first to the last, remount from the last to the first, and you will see that they are all of them necessarily linked together; every step you take you will discern new rays of light, which, when they are all united, form a complete evidence: I challenge you to shew me where it fails.

Thrice he assayed to speak, and thrice his perplexed mind endeavoured in vain to rally it's confused ideas; at length he collected all the powers of his understanding, and answered me thus: The universe is full of defects and vices, I see every where beings that are unhappy, and wicked; now I cannot conceive how sufferings and crimes can begin or subsist under the empire of a being supremely good, wise and powerful: If he be wise he must have foreseen them,

if

if he be powerful he might have hindered them, and if he be good he would have prevented them Here is therefore as manifeſt a contradiction in your ſyſtem as in mine; you muſt deny that there are crimes and miſeries in the univerſe, or that there is a ſovereign wiſdom and Goodneſs that governs it; take your choice.

How, anſwered I, will you deny what you ſee clearly becauſe you do not ſee further? The ſmalleſt light induces us to believe, but the greateſt obſcurity is not a ſufficient reaſon for denying: In this dawn of human life the lights of the underſtanding are too feint to ſhew us truth with a perfect evidence; we only get a glimpſe of it by a chance ray, which ſuffices to conduct us; but it is not ſuch a broad daylight as diſpels all obſcurity. You deny a creating power becauſe you do not conceive how it operates; you reject an eternal Wiſdom becauſe you know not the ſecret reaſons of it's conduct; you refuſe to acknowledge a ſovereign Goodneſs becauſe you do not comprehend how evil can ſubſiſt under it's government. O Anaximander! is this reaſoning? A thing is not becauſe you do not ſee it? All your difficulties are reduced to this.

You do me injuſtice, replied the wretched old man, who began to waver and to change his ſtyle, I neither affirm nor deny any thing, but I doubt of every thing, becauſe I ſee nothing certain, nothing but what is wrapt up in darkneſs; and this obſcurity reduces me to the neceſſity of fluctuating for ever in a ſea of uncertainties; there is no ſuch thing as demonſtration (a). It does not follow that a thing is true becauſe it appears ſo; a mind which is deceived often, may be deceived always; and this poſſibility is alone ſufficient to make me doubt of every thing.

Such is the nature of our underſtanding, replied

(a) *See Diſc. p.* 314.

I, that

I, that we cannot refuſe to do homage to truth when it is clearly diſcerned, we are forced to acquieſce, we are no longer free to doubt: Now this impoſſibility of doubting is what men call conviction, evidence, demonſtration: The mind of man can go no farther. This light ſtrikes with equal force upon all minds, it has an irreſiſtible power over Scythians and Indians, Greeks and Barbarians, Gods and men; and it can therefore be nothing elſe but a ray of that eternal Wiſdom which enlightens all intelligences. This light is the laſt tribunal for trying our ideas, we cannot appeal from it without ceaſing to be reaſonable. To doubt contrary to all reaſon is extravagance; to pretend to doubt when the evidence makes doubting impoſſible is adding inſincerity to folly. See to what a dilemma you are reduced by too much refining; obſerve the inconſtancy of your mind and the inconſiſtency of your reaſoning; you were at firſt for demonſtrating that there is no ſovereign Intelligence; when I ſhewed you that your pretended demonſtrations were only looſe ſuppoſitions, you then took refuge in a general doubting; and now at laſt your philoſophy terminates in deſtroying reaſon, rejecting all evidence, and maintaining that there is no rule whereby to make any ſettled judgments: It is to no purpoſe therefore to reaſon longer with you.

Here I left off ſpeaking that I might liſten to what he would anſwer, but finding that he did not open his mouth, I imagined that he began to be moved, and I continued thus: I ſuppoſe that you doubt ſeriouſly, but is it want of light, or the fear of being convinced, which cauſes your doubts? Enter into yourſelf; truth is better felt than underſtood: Hearken to the voice of nature that ſpeaks within you, ſhe will ſoon riſe up againſt all your refined ſophiſtry; your heart which is born with an inſatiable thirſt of happineſs will give your underſtanding the

lie, when it rejoices in the unnatural hope of it's approaching extinction; once again, I say, enter into yourself, impose silence upon your imagination, let not your passions blind you, and you will find in the inmost of your soul an inexpressible feeling of the Divinity which will dispel your doubts: It is by hearkening to this internal evidence that your understanding and your heart will be reconciled; on their reconcilement depends the peace of the soul, and it is in this tranquillity alone that we can hear the voice of wisdom, which supplies the defects of our reasonings. O my father, my dear father, where are you? I seek you in yourself without finding you: What is become of that divine man who formerly carried me through all the regions of immensity, who taught me to run back through all times to eternity itself? What then is become of that sublime, subtile and extensive understanding? What cloud of passions has obscured it? What midnight of prejudice is cast over it? Here I fixed my eyes upon him to see whether my arguments or sentiments had made any impression on his mind, but he looked upon me with the disdainful smile of a haughty soul that hides her weakness and despair under an air of contempt. I then held my peace and invoked the heavenly Minerva in a profound silence; I prayed to her to enlighten him, but she was deaf to me because he was deaf to her; he saw not the truth because he loved it not.

Here Pythagoras ceased and Cyrus said to him: You join the most affecting considerations with the most solid arguments; whether we consult the idea of the first cause or the nature of it's effects, the happiness of man or the good of society, reason or experience, all conspire to prove your system; but to believe that of Anaximander we must take for granted what can never with the least reason be imagined, that motion is an essential property of matter, that

matter

matter is the only exiſting ſubſtance, and that the infinite force acts without knowledge or deſign, notwithſtanding all the marks of wiſdom that ſhine throughout the univerſe. I do not conceive how men can heſitate between the two ſyſtems; the one is obſcure to the underſtanding, denies all conſolation to the heart, and is deſtructive of ſociety; the other is full of light and of comfortable ideas, produces noble ſentiments, and confirms us in all the duties of civil life. One of the two ſyſtems muſt be true; the eternal Being is either blind nature, or a wiſe intelligence; there is no medium; you have ſhewn that the firſt opinion is falſe and abſurd, the other therefore is evidently true and ſolid. Your arguments have darted a pure light into the inmoſt of my ſoul: You ſeem nevertheleſs to have left your adverſary's objection concerning the origin of evil in it's full ſtrength; help me to anſwer this grand difficulty. Here Pythagoras ran through all the different opinions of the Philoſophers without being able to ſatisfy Cyrus; the Prince found a ſolution of this difficulty no where but among the Hebrews; but though he was not content with the anſwers of the Samian on this head, he would not make him feel the weakneſs of them, nor let him perceive that he himſelf was ſenſible of it; he dexterouſly ſhifted the queſtion, and returning to his diſpute, make haſte to tell me, ſaid he, O wiſe Pythagoras! what impreſſion your diſcourſe made upon Anaximander.

He withdrew, anſwered the Philoſopher, in confuſion and deſpair, and with a reſolution to ruin me. As weak eyes, which the ſun dazzles and blinds, ſuch was the heart of Anaximander; neither prodigies, nor proofs, nor touching conſiderations can move the ſoul, when error has ſeized upon the underſtanding by the corruption of the heart. Since my departure from Samos, I hear that he is fallen

into the wild extravagance which I had foreſeen: Being reſolved to believe nothing which could not be demonſtrated with geometrical evidence, he is come not only to doubt of the moſt certain truths, but to believe the greateſt abſurdities. He maintains, without any allegory, that all he ſees is but a dream; that all the men who are about him are phantoms; that it is he himſelf who ſpeaks to and anſwers himſelf, when he converſes with them; that the heaven and the earth, the ſtars and the elements, plants and trees, are only illuſions; and in a word, that there is nothing real but himſelf: At firſt he was for deſtroying the divine Eſſence to ſubſtitute a blind nature in it's place; at preſent he has deſtroyed that nature itſelf, and maintains that he is the only exiſtent being (a). Thus ended the converſation between Cyrus and Pythagoras. The Prince was touched with the conſideration of the weakneſs of human underſtanding; he ſaw by the example of Anaximander, that the moſt ſubtile genius's may go gradually from impiety to extravagance, and fall into a philoſophical delirium, which is as real a madneſs as any other. Cyrus went the next day to ſee the Sage, in order to put ſome queſtions to him about the laws of Minos.

The profound peace, ſaid he to Pythagoras, which is at preſent in Perſia, gives me leiſure to travel; I am going over the moſt famous countries to collect uſeful knowledge; I have been in Egypt where I have informed myſelf in the laws and government of that kingdom; I have travelled over Greece to acquaint myſelf with the different republicks which compoſe it, eſpecially thoſe of Lacedæmon and Athens. The ancient laws of Egypt ſeem to me to have been excellent and founded in nature, but

(a) *The language of the modern Egomiſts and of Carneades heretofore.* *See Diſc. p.* 313.

it's

it's form of government was defective; the Kings had no bridle to reſtrain them; the thirty judges did not ſhare the ſupreme authority with them; they were but the interpreters of the laws. Deſpotic power and conqueſts at laſt deſtroyed that empire. I fear that Athens will be ruined by a contrary fault; it's government is too popular and tumultuous: The laws of Solon are good, but he had not ſufficient authority to reform the genius of a people that have an unbounded inclination for liberty, luxury and pleaſure. Lycurgus has provided a remedy for the defects which ruined Egypt and will deſtroy Athens; but his laws are too contrary to nature: Equality of ranks and community of goods cannot ſubſiſt long; as ſoon as the Lacedæmonians ſhall have extended their dominion in Greece, they will doubtleſs throw off the yoke of theſe laws; they reſtrain the paſſions on one ſide but indulge them too much on another, and while they proſcribe ſenſuality they favour ambition. None of theſe three forms of government ſeem to me to be perfect; I have been told that Minos heretofore eſtabliſhed one in this iſland, which was free from the defects I have mentioned.

Pythagoras admired the young Prince's penetration, and conducted him to the temple where the laws of Minos were kept in a gold box; they contained all that regarded religion, morality and policy, and whatever might contribute to the knowledge of the Gods, ourſelves and other men: Cyrus found in this ſacred book all that was excellent in the laws of Egypt, Sparta and Athens, and thereby perceived, that as Minos had borrowed from the Egyptians, ſo Lycurgus and Solon were indebted to the Cretan law-giver for the moſt valuable parts of their inſtitutions; and it was upon this model alſo that Cyrus formed thoſe admirable laws which he eſtabliſhed in his empire after he had conquered Aſia.

Pythagoras after this explained to him the form of government of ancient Crete, and how it provided equally againſt deſpotic power and anarchy. One would think, added the Philoſopher, that a government ſo perfect in all it's parts ſhould have ſubſiſted for ever, but there hardly remain any traces of it. The ſucceſſors of Minos degenerated by degrees; they did not think themſelves great enough while they were only guardians of the laws; they would ſubſtitute their arbitrary will in the place of them. The Cretans oppoſed the innovation; from thence ſprang diſcords and civil wars; in theſe tumults the Kings were dethroned, exiled, or put to death, and uſurpers took their place; theſe uſurpers to flatter the people weakened the authority of the nobles; the Comes or deputies of the people invaded the ſovereign authority; the monarchy at firſt ſhaken and then deſpiſed was at laſt aboliſhed, and the government became popular. Such is the ſad condition of human things. The deſire of unbounded authority in Princes, and the love of independence in the people, expoſe all kingdoms to inevitable revolutions; nothing is fixed or ſtable among men. Cyrus perceived by this, that the ſafety and happineſs of a kingdom do not depend ſo much upon the wiſdom of laws, as upon that of Kings. All ſorts of government are good when thoſe who govern ſeek only the public welfare, but they are all defective, becauſe the governors being but men, are imperfect.

After ſeveral ſuch converſations with the wiſe Samian, the Prince prepared to continue his travels, and at parting ſaid to him, I am extremely concerned to ſee you abandoned to the cruelty of capricious fortune! How happy ſhould I be to ſpend my life with you in Perſia! I will not offer you pleaſures or riches which allure other men; I know you would be little moved by them; you are above the favours

of

of Kings, because you see the vanity of human grandeur, but I offer you in my dominions peace, liberty, and the sweet leisure which the Gods grant to those who love wisdom. I should have a sincere joy, replied Pythagoras, to live under your protection with Zoroaster and the Magi, but I must follow the orders given me by the oracle of Apollo; a mighty empire is rising in Italy, which will one day become master of the world; it's form of government is like that established in Crete by Minos; the genius of the people is as warlike as that of the Spartans; the generous love of their country, the esteem of personal poverty in order to augment the public treasure, the noble and disinterested sentiments which prevail among the citizens, their contempt of pleasure, and their ardent zeal for liberty, render them fit to conquer the whole world; I am to introduce there the knowledge of the Gods and of laws. I must leave you, but I will never forget you; my heart will follow you every where; you will doubtless extend your conquests as the oracles have foretold: May the Gods preserve you then from being intoxicated by sovereign authority! May you long feel the pleasure of reigning only to make other men happy! Fame will inform me of your successes: I shall often ask, has not grandeur made a change in the heart of Cyrus? Does he still love virtue? Does he continue to fear the Gods? Though we now part we shall meet again in the abode of the just; I shall doubtless descend thither before you; I will there expect your Manes. Ah Cyrus! how joyful shall I be to see you again after death among the good Kings, who are crowned by the Gods with an immortal glory! Farewel, Prince, farewel, and remember that you never employ your power but to execute the dictates of your goodness.

Cyrus was so much affected, that he could not answer; he respectfully embraced the old man, and

bedewed his face with tears; but in ſhort they muſt ſeparate: Pythagoras embarked very ſoon for Italy, and the Prince in a Phœnician veſſel for Tyre. As Cyrus was ſailing from Crete, and the coaſts of Greece began to diſappear, he felt an inward regret, and calling to mind all he had ſeen, ſaid to Araſpes: What! is this the nation that was repreſented to me as ſo ſuperficial and trifling? I have found there great men of all kinds, profound philoſophers, able captains, wiſe politicians, and genius's capable of reaching to all heights, and of going to the bottom of things. Other nations methinks don't do the Greeks juſtice.

I cannot admire, anſwered Araſpes, either their talents or their ſciences; the Chaldeans and Egyptians ſurpaſs them exceedingly in all ſolid knowledge. Lycurgus, Solon, Thales and Pythagoras would never have known any thing if they had not travelled in Egypt and the Eaſt: All that they have added to our philoſophy has been only ſo much allay to it. The doctrine of (b) Thales is a ſeries of looſe ſuppoſitions; his ethereal fluid is a mere whim and not at all geometrical; what compariſon between his philoſophy and that of (c) Moſchus the Phœnician? Beſides I don't find any thing of the original, creating, maſculine genius in the Greek poets and orators, but a diffuſed ſtyle, ſuperfluous flowers, ideas that ſeem clear and tranſparent only becauſe they are light and thin; their pretty thoughts,

(b) *He introduced mathematicks and phyſics into Greece, as Deſcartes revived the taſte of them in Europe.*

(c) *He was the firſt that taught the atomical doctrine, not in the ſenſe of Democritus and Epicurus, but in that of Sir Iſaac Newton. See Opt. pag.* 407. *Moſchus and the Phœnicians believed, that after the chaos the plaſtic ſpirit of the univerſe had brought the atoms together by love,* ἤρέσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, *this is the manner in which the ancients expreſſed the doctrine of attraction.*

ingenious

ingenious turns and pretended delicacies proceed wholly from the infant weakneſs of their underſtanding, which cannot riſe to the ſublime, and continually hovers about the ſurface of objects: In a word, all that I admire in the Greeks is their politeneſs, their converſible qualities, their taſte for pleaſure and their continual joy; they purchaſe happineſs at a cheaper rate than other nations.

It is true, replied Cyrus, we find ſublime ideas and uſeful diſcoveries among the Chaldeans and Egyptians, but their depth of ſcience is often full of obſcurity; they know not like the Greeks how to come at hidden truths by a chain of known and eaſy ones; that ingenious method of ranging each idea in it's proper place, of leading the mind by degrees from the moſt ſimple truths to the moſt compounded, with order, perſpicuity and accuracy, is a ſecret with which the Chaldeans and Egyptians, who boaſt of having more of original genius, are little acquainted. This nevertheleſs is the true ſcience by which man is taught the extent and bounds of his own mind, and this is what we owe to Thales; his works and his travels ſpread this taſte in the Eaſt; what ingratitude and injuſtice to make no other uſe of his great diſcoveries than to deſpiſe him becauſe he did not diſcover all! It is true his philoſophy is not exact; but Moſchus, the great Moſchus, has not he himſelf had recourſe to an ethereal fluid in order to explain his principle of attraction, which, as at firſt repreſented by his diſciples, was wholly unintelligible, a mere occult quality. I know that the Greeks love the agreeable kinds of knowledge more than abſtract ideas; the arts of imitation more than nice ſpeculations; but they do not deſpiſe the ſublime ſciences: On the contrary, they excel in them when they apply their minds to the ſtudy of them. Have we in all the

Eaſt ſuch a (d) hiſtory of phyſics as that written by Anaximenes? Do not you find beauties in Homer, the fables of Æſop, Archilochus's ſatyrs, and in the dramatic pieces which are acted at Athens to render vice odious and ridiculous? I repeat what I ſaid to Solon, the Greeks have a finer taſte than other nations. It is for want of ſenſibility that we do not ſufficiently admire the delicate thoughts, the tender paſſions, the natural and unaffected graces in their writings. The poem of Abaris the Scythian concerning the (e) ruin of the garden of the Heſperides would have been more perfect if the author had been a Greek. We ſee there all the efforts of a genius that can riſe to the higheſt heaven, deſcend to the loweſt abyſs, and fly with a rapid wing from one end of immenſity to the other; yet Abaris, the admirable Abaris, does he always diſtinguiſh between the natural and the low, ſublimity and bombaſt, enthuſiaſm and fury, delicacy and ſubtility? I grant that the Greeks ſeem to be ſometimes taken up too much with trifles and amuſements; but the great men among them have the ſecret of preparing the moſt important affairs, even while they are diverting themſelves: they are ſenſible that the mind has need now and then of reſt; but in theſe relaxations they can put in motion the greateſt machines by the ſmalleſt ſprings; they look upon life as a kind of ſport, but ſuch as reſembles the Olympic games, where mirthful dancing is mixed with laborious exerciſes. They love ſtrangers more than other nations, and their country deſerves to be ſtyled the common country of mankind. It is for theſe qualities that I prefer the Greeks to other nations, and not becauſe of their politeneſs.

(d) *A kind of hiſtory like that of the academy of ſciences in France.*

(e) *It might be ſomewhat like Milton's Paradiſe loſt.*

True

True politeneſs is common to delicate ſouls of all nations, and is not peculiar to any one people. External civility is but the form eſtabliſhed in the different countries for expreſſing that politeneſs of the ſoul. I prefer the civility of the Greeks to that of other nations, becauſe it is more ſimple and leſs troubleſom; it excludes all ſuperfluous formality; it's only aim is to render company and converſation eaſy and agreeable: But internal politeneſs is very different from that ſuperficial civility. You were not preſent that day when Pythagoras ſpoke to me upon this head; I will tell you his notion of politeneſs, to which his own practice is anſwerable. It is an evenneſs of ſoul which excludes at the ſame time both inſenſibility and too much earneſtneſs; it ſuppoſes a quickneſs in diſcerning what may ſuit the different characters of men; it is a ſweet condeſcenſion by which we adapt ourſelves to each man's taſte, not to flatter his paſſions, but to avoid provoking them. In a word, it is a forgetting of ourſelves in order to ſeek what may be agreeable to others, but in ſo delicate a manner as to let them ſcarce perceive that we are ſo employed: It knows how to contradict with reſpect, and to pleaſe without adulation, and is equally remote from an inſipid complaiſance and a low familiarity. Cyrus and Araſpes were diſcourſing together in this manner when they diſcovered the coaſts of Phœnicia, and they ſoon after arrived at Tyre.

THE
TRAVELS
OF
CYRUS.

SEVENTH BOOK.

THE King of Babylon having deſtroyed ancient Tyre, the inhabitants had built a new city in a neighbouring iſland, thirteen furlongs from the ſhore. This iſland ſtretched itſelf in form of a creſcent, and encloſed a bay where the ſhips lay in ſhelter from the winds; divers rows of cedars beautified the port; and at each end of it was a fortreſs for the ſecurity of the town and of the ſhipping. In the middle of the mole was a portico, of twelve rows of pillars, where, at certain hours of the day, the people of all nations aſſembled to buy and ſell; there one might hear all languages ſpoken, and ſee the manners and habits of all the different nations; ſo that Tyre ſeemed the capital of the univerſe. A prodigious number of veſſels were floating upon the water, ſome going, others arriving; here the mariners were furling their ſails while the weary rowers enjoyed repoſe; there one might ſee new built veſſels launched; a vaſt multitude of people covered the port; ſome were buſy in unloading ſhips, others in tranſporting merchandiſe, and others in filling the magazines;

all were in motion, earneſt at work, and eager in promoting trade.

Cyrus obſerved a good while with pleaſure this ſcene of hurry and buſineſs, and then advancing towards one end of the mole met a man whom he thought he knew: Am I deceived, cried out the Prince, or is it Amenophis who has left his ſolitude to come into the ſociety of men? It is I, replied the Egyptian Sage; I have changed my retreat in Arabia for another at the foot of mount Libanus. Cyrus ſurpriſed at this alteration aſked him the reaſon: Arobal, ſaid Amenophis, is the cauſe of it; that Arobal of whom I ſpoke to you formerly, who was priſoner with me at Memphis and my fellow-ſlave in the mines of Egypt, was ſon to the King of Tyre, but knew not his birth; he has aſcended the throne of his anceſtors and his true name is Ecnibal; I enjoy a perfect tranquillity in his dominion; come and ſee a Prince who is worthy of your friendſhip. I have always had a concern for him, replied Cyrus, on account of your friendſhip for him, but I could never forgive his leaving you: I rejoice with you on your finding him again, I long impatiently to ſee him, and to teſtify to him the ſatisfaction I feel.

Amenophis conducted the Prince to the royal palace and preſented him to the King: noble ſouls make acquaintance at firſt ſight, nor does it require time to form ſtrict friendſhips, where a ſympathy of thoughts and ſentiments have prepared the way for them. The King of Tyre aſked Cyrus divers queſtions about his country, his travels, and the manners of the different nations he had ſeen: He was charmed with the noble ſentiments and delicate taſte which diſcovered themſelves in the young Prince's diſcourſe, who on the other hand admired the good ſenſe and virtue of Ecnibal; he ſpent ſome days at his court, and at length deſired Amenophis to relate to

to him the misfortunes of the King of Tyre, and by what means he had ascended the throne.

The Egyptian sage retired one day with Cyrus and Araspes into the hollow of a rock beautified with shell-work; from thence they had a view of the sea, the city of Tyre, and the fertile country about it; on one side mount Libanus bounded the prospect, and on the other the isle of Cyprus seemed to fly away upon the waves; they all three sat down upon a bed of moss on the brink of a fountain whose still waters seemed to sleep in their very source. When they had reposed themselves a while the Egyptian sage began thus:

While Ecnibal was yet a child in his cradle his father died; his uncle Itobal aspiring to the throne resolved to rid himself of the young Prince: But Bahal, to whom his education was committed, spread a report of his death to preserve him from the cruelty of the tyrant, and sent him to a solitary part of the country at the foot of mount Libanus, where he made him pass for his own son under the name of Arobal, without discovering his birth even to the Prince himself. When Ecnibal was in his fourteenth year, Bahal formed the design of placing him upon the throne: The usurper being apprized of it, clapt up the loyal Tyrian in prison and threatened him with the most cruel death, if he did not deliver up the young Prince into his hands. Bahal would make no discovery, being resolved to die rather than fail in his duty and affection for Ecnibal. In the mean while the tyrant, knowing the heir of the crown to be yet living, was greatly disturbed and incensed. To satiate his rage and calm his disquiets he ordered all Bahal's children to be put to death: But a faithful slave, having notice of it, contrived to save Ecnibal; so that he left Phœnicia without knowing the secret of his birth. Bahal escaped out of prison by throwing himself from a high tower into

into the sea; he gained the shore by swimming and retired to Babylon where he made himself known to Nabuchodonosor. To revenge himself for the murder of his children he stirred up that conqueror to make war upon Itobal, and to undertake the long siege of Tyre. The King of Babylon, being informed of the bravery and capacity of Bahal, chose him to command in chief in this expedition. Itobal was killed, and after the taking of the town Bahal was raised to the throne of Tyre by Nabuchodonosor, who in that manner recompensed his services and fidelity. Bahal did not suffer himself to be dazzled by the lustre of royalty: Having learned that Ecnibal had escaped the rage of the tyrant, his first care was to send over all Asia to seek him, but he could learn no news of him; for we were then in the mines of Egypt.

Arobal having wandered a long time in Africa and lost the slave, his conductor, engaged himself in Apries's troops, being resolved either to end his days or to distinguish himself by some glorious action. I have formerly given you an account of our first acquaintance, our mutual friendship, our common slavery, and our separation. Upon his leaving me he went to Babylon, where he was informed of the revolution which had happened at Tyre, and that Bahal, whom he believed his father, was raised to the throne; he left the court of Nabuchodonosor without delay, and soon arrived in Phœnicia where he was introduced to Bahal. The good old Man loaded with years was reposing himself upon a rich carpet; joy gave him strength; he got up, ran to Arobal, examined him, recalled all his features, and in a word knew him to be the same; he could no longer contain himself, he fell upon his neck, embraced him, bedewed his face with tears, and cried out with transport; It is then you whom I see, it is Ecnibal himself, the son of my master, the child

whom I ſaved from the tyrant's hands, the innocent cauſe of my diſgrace and the ſubject of my glory; I can then ſhew my gratitude towards the King who is no more, by reſtoring his ſon. Ah Gods! it is thus that you recompence my fidelity, I die content. He immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to the court of Babylon to aſk permiſſion of the King to reſign the crown and recognize Ecnibal for his lawful maſter. It was thus that the Prince of Tyre aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, and Bahal died ſoon after.

As ſoon as Arobal was reſtored he ſent a Tyrian to me in my ſolitude to inform me of his fortune, and to preſs me to come and live at his court: I was charmed to hear of his happineſs and to find that he ſtill loved me; I expreſſed my joy in the warmeſt manner, and ſignified to the Tyrian that all my deſires were ſatisfied ſince my friend was happy; but I abſolutely refuſed to leave my retirement: He ſent to me again to conjure me to come and aſſiſt him in the labours of royalty; I anſwered, that he was ſufficiently knowing to fulfil all his obligations, and that his paſt misfortunes would enable him to ſhun the dangers to which ſupreme authority is expoſed. At laſt, ſeeing that nothing could move me, he left Tyre under pretence of going to Babylon to do homage to the Aſſyrian King, and arrived very ſoon at my ſolitude. We tenderly embraced each other a long while; doubtleſs you thought, ſaid he to me, that I had forgotten you, that our ſeparation proceeded from the cooling of my friendſhip, and that ambition had ſeduced my heart; but you were deceived: It is true that when I left you I could no longer ſupport retirement, I had no peace in it; this reſtleſſneſs no doubt proceeded from the Gods themſelves; they drew me away to accompliſh the deſigns of their wiſdom; I could enjoy no repoſe while I reſiſted them: It was thus that they con-

conducted me to the throne by unknown paths; grandeur has not changed my heart; shew me that absence has not diminished your friendship; come and support me in the midst of the toils and dangers in which an elevated state engages me. Ah! said I to him, do not force me to quit my solitude; suffer me to enjoy the repose which the Gods have granted me; grandeur excites the passions; courts are stormy seas, I have been already shipwreck'd and have happily escaped; expose me not to the like misfortune a second time. I perceive your thoughts, replied Ecnibal, you are afraid of the friendship of Kings, you have experienced their inconstancy, you have found that their favour is frequently but the forerunner of their hatred; Apries loved you once and deserted you afterwards; but alas! should you compare me with Apries? No, no, replied I, I shall always distrust the friendship of a Prince brought up in luxury and effeminacy like the King of Egypt; but for you, who were educated far from a throne and in ignorance of your rank, and have since been tried by such a variety of adverse fortune, I have no fear that the regal dignity should alter your sentiments: The Gods have conducted you to the throne, you must fulfil the duties incumbent upon a King, and sacrifice yourself to the publick good; but for me, nothing obliges me to engage anew in tumult and trouble; I have no thought but to die in solitude, where wisdom nourishes my heart, and where the hope of being soon re-united to the great Osiris makes me forget all my past misfortunes.

Here a torrent of tears obliged us to silence, which Ecnibal at length breaking said to me: Has then the study of wisdom served only to make Amenophis insensible? Well, if you will grant nothing to friendship, come at least to defend me from the frailties of human nature; I shall one day perhaps forget that I have been unfortunate, I may come to be unmoved with

with the miſeries of men, ſupreme authority will perhaps poiſon my heart, and render me like other Princes; come and preſerve me from the errors to which my ſtate is ever liable; come and confirm me in all thoſe maxims of virtue with which you formerly inſpired me; I feel that I have more need of a friend than ever. Ecnibal melted me with theſe words, and I conſented to follow him, but upon condition that I ſhould not live at court, that I ſhould never have any employment there, and that I ſhould retire into ſome ſolitary place near Tyre; I have only changed one retreat for another, that I might have the pleaſure of being nearer my friend. We left Arabia Felix, went to Babylon, and ſaw there Nabuchodonoſor; but alas! how different is he now from what he was heretofore! He is no longer that conqueror who reigned in the midſt of triumphs, and aſtoniſhed the nations with the ſplendor of his glory; for ſome time paſt he has loſt his reaſon; he flies the ſociety of men, and wanders about in the mountains and woods like a wild beaſt; how terrible a fate for ſo great a Prince! When we arrived at Tyre I choſe my retreat at the foot of Mount Libanus, in the ſame place where Ecnibal was brought up; I come here ſometimes to ſee him, and he goes frequently to my ſolitude; nothing can impair our friendſhip, becauſe truth is the only bond of it. I ſee by this example that royalty is not as I imagined, incompatible with tender ſentiments; all depends on the firſt education of Princes; adverſity is the beſt ſchool for them; it is there that heroes are formed; Apries had been ſpoiled by proſperity in his youth; Arobal is confirmed in virtue by misfortunes.

Cyrus's eſteem for Ecnibal was much heightened by this relation; he admired that Prince's conſtancy in friendſhip more than all his other great qualities. During his ſtay at Tyre he was entertained in a very magnificent manner, and often expreſſed to the King his

his aſtoniſhment at the ſplendor which reigned in that city. Be not ſurprized at it, anſwered the Tyrian Prince, wherever commerce flouriſhes under the protection of wiſe laws, plenty becomes quickly univerſal, and magnificence coſts the ſtate nothing. Cyrus, upon this, defired the King of Tyre to explain to him how he had brought his dominions into ſuch a flouriſhing condition in ſo ſhort a time.

The wiſeſt of the Hebrew Kings, ſaid Ecnibal, ſhewed many ages ago to what a pitch of ſplendor and magnificence commerce will raiſe a little ſtate; his ſhips ſailed even to the remoteſt iſlands to import from thence the wealth, perfumes, and rich commodities of the Eaſt; after the ruin and captivity of the Hebrews we ſeized upon all the branches of their commerce. Tyre is happily ſituated; her inhabitants underſtand navigation; trade was at firſt perfectly free there; ſtrangers were treated as citizens of Tyre: But under the reign of Itobal all fell to ruin; inſtead of keeping our ports open according to the old cuſtom, he ſhut them up out of political views, formed a deſign of changing the fundamental conſtitution of Phœnicia, and of rendring a nation warlike, that had always ſhunned having any part in the quarrels of her neighbours. By this means commerce languiſhed, and our ſtrength diminiſhed; Itobal drew upon us the wrath of the King of Babylon, who razed our ancient city and made us tributary. As ſoon as Bahal was placed upon the throne, he endeavoured to remedy theſe miſchiefs; I have but followed the plan which that good Prince left me.

He began by opening his ports to ſtrangers, and by reſtoring the freedom of commerce. He declared that his name ſhould never be made uſe of in it, but to ſupport it's rights and make it's laws be obſerved. The authority of Princes is too formidable for other men to enter into partnerſhip with them. Commerce was carried on in the firſt republics only by

by exchange of merchandiſe; but this method was found troubleſom, and ſubject to many inconveniencies; the value of proviſions is not always the ſame, they cannot be tranſported without expence, nor diſtributed without trouble, nor long kept without ſpoiling. It was neceſſary to have ſuch a common meaſure of the value of merchandiſe, as ſhould be incorruptible, portable and diviſible into ſmall parts for the convenience of the pooreſt citizens. Metals ſeemed proper for this uſe, and it is this common meaſure which is called money. The public treaſure having been exhauſted by long wars, there was not money enough in Phœnicia to ſet the people to work; arts languiſhed, and agriculture itſelf was neglected. Bahal engaged the principal merchants to advance conſiderable ſums to the artizans, while the former trafficked together upon ſafe credit; but this credit never took place among the labourers and mechanics. Coin is not only a common meaſure for regulating the price of the ſeveral kinds of merchandiſe, but it is a ſure pledge which has an intrinſic value, and pretty near the ſame in all nations. Bahal would not have this pledge ever taken out of the hands of the people, becauſe they have need of it to ſecure themſelves againſt the corruption of miniſters, the oppreſſion of the rich, and even the ill uſe which Kings might make of their authority. In order to encourage the Tyrians to work, he not only left every one in the free poſſeſſion of his gain, but allotted great rewards for thoſe who ſhould excel by their genius, or diſtinguiſh themſelves by any new invention. He built great work-houſes for manufactures; he lodged there all thoſe who were eminent in their reſpective arts; and that their attention might not be taken off by uneaſy cares, he ſupplied all their wants, and he flattered their ambition by granting them ſuch honours and diſtinctions in his capital as were ſuitable to their condition. He took off the exorbitant impoſts,

poſts, and forbad all monopolies ; ſo that neither buyers nor ſellers are under any conſtraint or oppreſſion. Trade being left free, my ſubjects import hither in abundance all the beſt things which the univerſe affords, and they ſell them at reaſonable rates. All ſorts of proviſions pay me a very ſmall tribute at entring ; the leſs I fetter trade the more my treaſures increaſe ; the diminution of impoſts diminiſhes the price of merchandiſe ; the leſs dear things are, the more are conſumed of them, and by this conſumption my revenues exceed greatly what they would amount to by laying exceſſive duties. Kings, who think to enrich themſelves by their exactions, are not only enemies to their own people, but ignorant of their own intereſts.

I perceive, ſaid Cyrus, that commerce is a ſource of great advantages in a ſtate ; I believe that is the only ſecret to create plenty in great monarchies, and to repair the deſolations cauſed there by war ; numerous troops quickly exhauſt a kingdom if we cannot draw ſubſiſtence for them from foreign countries by a flouriſhing trade. Have a care, ſaid Amenophis, that you do not miſtake. Commerce ought not to be neglected in great monarchies, but it muſt be regulated by other rules than in petty republics. Phœnicia carries on commerce, not only to ſupply her own wants, but thoſe of foreign ſtates. As her territories are ſmall, her ſtrength conſiſts in making herſelf uſeful and even neceſſary to all her neighbours ; her merchants bring from the remoteſt iſlands the riches of nature, and diſtribute them afterwards among other nations. It is not her own ſuperfluities, but thoſe of other countries, which are the foundation of her trade. In a city like Tyre where commerce is the only ſupport of the ſtate, all the principal citizens are traders ; the merchants are the Princes of the republic : But in great empires, where military virtue and ſubordination of ranks are abſolutely

abſolutely neceſſary, commerce ought to be encouraged without being univerſal. To this end, it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh companies, grant them privileges, and intruſt them with the general commerce of the nation: They ſhould make ſettlements in remote iſlands, and maintain a naval force for their defence againſt pirates: Thoſe who cannot employ themſelves in trade ſhall lodge their money in theſe public companies: The magiſtrates, prieſts and military men cannot traffic without neglecting their proper employments and demeaning themſelves; thoſe trading companies ſhall be the depoſitaries of every private man's money, which thus united will produce an hundredfold. In a kingdom that is fruitful, ſpacious, populous and abounding with ſea-ports, if the people are laborious they may draw from the boſom of the earth immenſe treaſures, which would be loſt by the negligence and ſloth of it's inhabitants. By improving the productions of nature by manufactures the national riches are augmented; and it is by carrying theſe fruits of induſtry to other nations that a ſolid commerce is eſtabliſhed in a great empire: But nothing ſhould be exported to other countries but it's ſuperfluities, nor any thing imported from them but what is purchaſed with thoſe ſuperfluities. By this means the ſtate will never contract any debts abroad, the balance of trade will be always on it's ſide, and it will draw from other nations wherewith to defray the expences of war; great advantages will be reaped from commerce without deſtroying the diſtinction of ranks, or weakening military virtue: One of the chief accompliſhments of a Prince is to know the genius of his people, the productions of nature in his kingdom, and how to make the beſt advantage of them. Cyrus by his converſation with Ecnibal and Amenophis learnt many uſeful notions and maxims in government which he had not met with in other countries; they were

were of great service to him after the taking of Sardis, when he ordered gold money to be coined, and turned the King of Lydia's treasures into specie (a).

The next day Cyrus accompanied the King of Tyre some furlongs from his capital to assist at the annual rites instituted in commemoration of the death of Adonis. Between Heliopolis and Byblos there was a stately temple consecrated to Venus: On one side of the portal was placed a statue of the Goddess, she leaned her declining head on her left hand, grief appeared in her countenance, and tears seemed to flow from her eyes, which were turned upon the statue of her lover placed on the other side; a stream of blood seemed to spring from his heart, and to dye the river Thammuz whose purple waters rolled with impetuosity towards the sea. The frizes and the architraves were adorned with sculptures in bas-relief, representing the three metamorphoses of the Goddess, the history of her unfaithfulness, and of all the effects of Adonis's constancy.

The temple was built of fine Parian marble; it's immense vault represented that of heaven; in the middle of it appeared the chariot of the sun encircled by the planets, and at a greater distance the empyreum spangled with stars. Upon the altar stood a statue of the Goddess; she held in her hand the globe of the world, and upon her wonderful girdle were described the twelve constellations. The artist had animated the marble in such a manner, that the statue expressed three different passions, according to the different points of view from whence it was beheld (b); at a distance it was a noble and majestic beauty that seemed to invite with a soft smile, accompanied with a tender and modest look; upon a

(a) *See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronol. p.* 319.

(b) *The Venus of Medicis is said in like manner to have three different aspects, according to the different points of view from which it is beheld.*

nearer

nearer view her face, turned towards the East, proclaimed the peaceful joy of a soul that sees the beauty of truth, possesses it and is possessed by it; when viewed from the other side she seemed to turn away her eyes, and despise those who durst approach her with a profane heart and impure thoughts. In the sculptures of the altar, Love (a) under the shape of Adonis seemed to descend from heaven, his infant look spoke nothing but candour, innocence and simplicity; the virtues walked before him, the muses followed him, and the graces hovered about him; he had no bandage upon his eyes, and held in his hand a lighted torch, to shew that he enlightens at the same time that he inflames.

When Cyrus entered the temple he found all the people, clad in mourning, in a cavern, where the image of a young man was lying upon a bed of flowers and odoriferous herbs; nine days were spent in fasting, prayer and lamentations, after which the public sorrow was changed into gladness; songs of joy succeeded to weeping (b), and the whole assembly began this sacred hymn. 'Adonis is returned to life, 'Urania weeps no more, he is re-ascended to hea-'ven, he will soon come down again upon earth to 'banish thence both crimes and miseries for ever.'

Cyrus was struck with the august solemnity of the Tyrian rites; he knew nothing of the history of Venus and Adonis but by the Mythology of the Greeks, and suspected that they had debased it according to their custom: He desired Amenophis to explain to him the true meaning of the Phœnician ceremonies. The wise Egyptian sat down with the young Prince

(a) *Since there are two Venus's, says Plato, there must be two Loves, and he calls this Love the great God,* Μέγας θεὸς εἶν ὁ Ἔρως καὶ θαυμαςὸς ἐν θεοῖς. *Conviv. p.* 178, 180.

(b) *All these Tyrian rites are to be found in Lucian, St. Jerome, St. Cyril, Julius Firmicus, Macrobius and Procopius. See Disc. p.* 339.

over

over-againſt the great gate of the temple, in a place from whence they could ſee the ſtatues of the God and Goddeſs, with all the bas-reliefs that repreſented their adventures, and then ſaid: It is not long ſince the Greeks were utter ſtrangers to letters, the muſes and the ſciences; their underſtanding is ſtill young, they have no true knowledge of antiquity; they have disfigured all the myſteries of the ancient religion by their abſurd fictions and groſs images: The combats of Mythras, the murder of Oſiris, the death of Adonis, the baniſhment of Apollo, and the labours of Hercules, repreſent to us the ſame truths; but different nations have painted them under different ſimilitudes; what we learn of them from the Tyrian annals is as follows.

Before the formation of the elements, the heavens and the earth, an eternal ſilence reigned throughout all the ethereal regions, and the muſic of the ſtars had not yet begun: The great God (b) Belus dwelt in an inacceſſible light with the Goddeſs (c) Urania, who inceſſantly ſprang from his head, and with the God (d) Adonis whom he had engendred like unto himſelf. Belus being more and more charmed with the beauty of his ſon, deſired that there might be ſeveral miniatures and living images of him. Adonis, animated by the power of Belus, moulded ſome rays of light, and made ſuns, ſtars, and numberleſs worlds inviſible to us; but as yet there were no inhabitants for them. He looked upon his mother, and on a ſudden he ſaw

(b) *Belus or Baali was anciently one of the names of the true God among the Hebrews. See Hoſea, chap. ii. ver.* 16. *and Selden de Diis Syris, cap. i. Syntag.* 2.

(c) *Urania, Minerva and Iſis are the ſame. See Seld. ibid. cap.* 4.

(d) Ἄδωνις δεσπότης *apud Phœnices unde Laconibus* Κύριε, *id eſt* Κύριος, *Seld. ib. c.* 11. *Adonis comes from the word Adonai, one of the ten names of God. Vid. D. Hier. Ep. ad. Marcell. This Adonis is the ſame with the Logos of Plato, whom he defines* Ἔκγονον ὁ ταγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον ἑαυτῷ. *See Diſc. p.* 302.

ſpring

ſpring out from the vaſt abyſs a beautiful flower which contained the ſoul of the world; Adonis breathed upon it; what cannot the almighty breath of a God? The flower ſwelled, expanded itſelf and was changed into a young Goddeſs whom he named (a) Urania after his mother. Tranſported with love and pleaſure, he would have preſented her to his father, but ſhe was not yet able to ſupport the ſplendor of the divine preſence, or to breathe the pure air of the empyreum.

Adonis placed the young Goddeſs in a ſtar, in the centre of the univerſe, from whence ſhe could ſee the courſe of all the heavenly bodies, and hear the muſic of the celeſtial ſpheres: He then ſaid to her, Beautiful Urania I love you, and deſign you for a more tranſcendent glory than what you at preſent enjoy; I intend to make you my ſpouſe, bleſs you with a happy race that ſhall people the heavens, and conduct you at laſt with all your children into the ſublime place above the ſtars where my father dwells: The only condition I require of you is, that you never wiſh to know more than what ſuits your preſent ſtate, that unreaſonable curioſity would render you both unhappy and criminal: Such are the immutable laws of Belus. Urania thought her ſelf too happy to enjoy her felicity on ſuch eaſy terms; ſhe loved Adonis more than all the glory that he promiſed her, the ſight of her lover made her forget all his gifts; he looked upon her with complacency and by this look made her pregnant; ſhe became the mother of all the Divinities without ceaſing to be the immortal virgin; ſhe quickly peopled the ſtars with Gods and Goddeſſes, who had

(a) *Pauſanias tells us that there were two Urania's, the cœleſtial Venus, and the Venus ἀποστροφία of the Greeks, or Verticordia of the Latins, which is as much as to ſay, Venus convertens cor ſuum as well as aliorum. See Diſc. p.* 340.

no

no other law but that of obeying the will of Adonis, loving each other tenderly as the children of the same father, and aspiring by their virtue to become one day worthy of seeing the God Belus.

Urania continued long faithful; she followed Adonis every where, he led her through the immense spaces to shew her the numberless worlds which he had there produced; he often talked with her of the superior regions, and of the pleasure which she would one day feel in knowing him of whom all nature is but a feint image, in comparing the original with it's pictures, and in seeing their various relations. These discourses kindled in her the fatal curiosity, she began to be weary of her happiness, and had no longer any relish for the pleasures she enjoyed: She durst not speak, but Adonis perceived the first motions of her unfaithfulness, and endeavoured to stop it's progress; she grew pensive, melancholy, distrustful, and broke out at last in these bitter complaints: Adonis, cruel Adonis! why did you give me the idea of a happiness which makes me miserable? You promised to carry me up to the empyreum, shew me the kingdom of your father, and make me partaker of his glory; you should have concealed your designs from me, or have accomplished them sooner. Imprudent Urania, replied Adonis, you are going to ruin yourself in spite of me, you are not yet capable of beholding the God Belus, you would not be able to support the splendor of his presence, he will be loved as he deserves before he manifests himself as he is; the smallest desire, the least motion contrary to his order is an incroachment on his rights.

A vain curiosity and an ambitious desire of knowing overcame the Goddess, she no longer beheld Adonis with the same complacency, she no longer found the same charms in his company, she received his caresses with coldness and indifference; he re-

newed all his endeavours to cure her diſtempered mind, but to no purpoſe; ſhe forced him at length to leave her: The Gods are delicate in love, and cannot ſuffer a divided heart; he re-aſcended to his father and left her all alone, hoping that the pains of abſence would recover her from her error. As ſoon as he was gone ſhe renewed her complaints, and tormented herſelf with new reflections; ſhe began to doubt, and by that doubting ſhe became darkened; ſhe ſuſpected all that Adonis had ſaid to her of his father and of the ſuperior regions to be only a chimera; ſhe forgot her origin and her dependent ſtate: To convince her of her error, ſhe was thrown down from the ethereal regions into the ſphere of the ſun; ſhe drew after her the inhabitants of ſeven other ſtars; theſe luminous bodies loſt their light, became planets, and rolled about the ſun to receive it's influences: The Gods who inhabited them became Demi-Gods, and the Goddeſs Urania was condemned to live in the moon; ſhe now enjoyed only a borrowed light, was clothed with an aerial and tranſparent body which the Greeks call the ſubtile vehicle of the ſoul; ſhe no longer breathed as formerly the pure æther, which made her life and nouriſhment; ſhe lived upon nectar and ambroſia with the Demi-Gods, whom ſhe had drawn after her in her fall. Adonis ever faithful and ever loving deſcended into the ſun to be nearer to his beloved Urania; he took the name of Apollo and tried new means to make her ſenſible of her fault: Sometimes ſhe was ſoftened, ſhe yielded to the ſun's attraction, and brought her ſilver car near his rays; then on a ſudden ſhe changed her ſentiments and wandered from him: ſhe became inconſtant and fantaſtical, ſhe put on new forms according as ſhe retired from her lover or approached to him; ſhe at length gave way to her ambition, and made the inhabitants

habitants of the planets adore her under the name of (a) Aſtarté, or the Queen of heaven.

By the laws of immutable fate it was neceſſary that the Goddeſs ſhould undergo a new metamorphoſis as a puniſhment for her new crime: She fell from the moon to the earth, and took the name of Venus. The inhabitants of the planets did not all follow her example, ſhe ſeduced but a ſmall number of them, and theſe Demi-Gods became men, but men of the golden age, they were not yet guilty of groſs crimes, they ſtill preſerved ſome marks of their original nature. The Goddeſs by changing her element changed her food, inſtead of ambroſia ſhe fed only upon fruits, inſtead of drinking nectar ſhe quenched her thirſt in limpid ſtreams and clear fountains; ſhe had not as yet loſt either her tranſparency or her agility, ſhe could mount into the air when ſhe pleaſed, but ſhe could not riſe to the ſuperior regions. Adonis left the ſun, took the form of a young man, and came and dwelt with Venus upon earth: At firſt ſhe did not diſcover who he was and fell in love with him; but having felt his divine influences ſhe knew him, was afraid and fled from him: He purſued her, he called after her, and at laſt ſtopt her; but ſhe eſcaped him again: He could have employed his almighty power, but the Gods will be loved by choice; he endeavoured to touch her heart by complaints and tears, by careſſes and threats, but ſhe had no longer any taſte for the refined delights of virtue; her firſt pride was now changed into a profane love of pleaſure, and ſhe forced Adonis to quit her a third time.

The inhabitants of the ſtars ſaw theſe repeated inſtances of Urania's ingratitude, and began to be ſhaken in their obedience: Belus, ſaid they, has no

(a) *Quid Urania niſi cœli Regina, Luna, Aſtarté. Vid. Selden, de Diis Syris, cap. 2. ſyntag. 2. See Apul. Met.* 11.

ſuch averſion to vice as we imagined ſince he does not puniſh it; ſince rebellion is not followed by miſery why are we ſubject to laws? It is true Urania is no longer what ſhe was, but ſhe is ſtill a Goddeſs and ſtill happy; provided we enjoy pleaſure it is no matter upon what terms; independence and liberty heighten the reliſh of the moſt vulgar enjoyments. An univerſal revolt was breeding through all the celeſtial regions, the deſigns of Belus were going to be fruſtrated: He called up Adonis into that ſolitude above the heavens where he lived with him before the formation of the ſtars, and ſaid to him: I repent me to have drawn the imprudent Urania from her original flower, you ſee her ingratitude and her obſtinacy notwithſtanding all your endeavours to reclaim her; univerſal harmony is diſturbed, the celeſtial monarchy is ſhaken, and the heavenly ſpirits begin to deſpiſe my ſovereign laws: Should I pardon the inhabitants of the earth, my clemency would encourage a new revolt, and the ſight of their impunity would have a bad influence on all the inhabitants of the ſtars, who already begin to murmur and to ſuſpect my goodneſs of indifferency with regard to crimes: I cannot vindicate the honour of my laws, nor confirm the immortals in their duty, without annihilating the unfaithful Goddeſs and all her rebellious children. Theſe terrible words rent the vault of heaven, reſounded even to the abyſs, and frighted the kingdom of chaos and eternal night. Belus at length lifted up his ſcepter to replunge the earth and all it's inhabitants into their original nothing: Adonis threw himſelf at his father's feet, he with-held his avenging arm by theſe words: I love Urania notwithſtanding her unfaithfulneſs, I ſee her errors and follies with grief, but her children are yours ſince they are mine; puniſh them, but do not entirely deſtroy them; ſhould they enjoy a happy immorta-

lity upon earth, they would think no more of reascending to heaven; curse their habitation, blast it's beauty, expose the guilty race to sickness and death, but let your punishments be remedies; all the celestial and terrestrial Deities who know the crimes of Urania will see also her misery, and be confirmed in their duty by her punishment. He spoke, and suddenly the pillars of the earth were shaken, the poles of the heaven changed their situation, the sun grew pale and retired to a greater distance, the moon and the five planets altered their motions, thunder, winds and rain mingled and confounded the elements, the herbs and flowers faded, the trees dry'd up and withered, the earth refused it's usual bounty, the fruitfulness of nature degenerated into a horrible barrenness.

Venus struck with terror fell into a long swoon, and when she recovered out of it beheld nothing but desolation all around her; she found herself in a frightful desert, upon the banks of the river Thammuz, whose plaintive murmurs seemed to proclaim Urania's crime: Her misfortunes did not change her heart, she sought to compensate her real miseries by creating herself imaginary pleasures; she caused temples to be erected every where to her honour, she invented impure sacrifices and a prophane worship; her altars were quickly besmeared with the blood of harmless animals; instead of odoriferous herbs and exquisite fruits, she fed upon the flesh of the victims, she sought for all sorts of meats which might excite and nourish her sensuality, she gave herself up to the blind instinct of pleasure, her blood grew thick, and flowed no longer in her veins with the same freedom and amenity; the subtile vehicle of the soul was wrapt round with a terrestrial and gross body; Venus could no longer fly in the air, she lost her lightness and transparency and became mortal; her children underwent the

ſame fate, ſhe ſaw many of them expire before her eyes by intemperance and voluptuouſneſs; others hoping to ſhun the decrees of fate heaped mountains upon mountains, and endeavoured to ſcale heaven; but being ſtruck down and cruſhed by thunderbolts, they dug themſelves an abyſs in the boſom of chaos, where Pluto, their chief, erected his empire, and Venus was there adored under the name of Proſerpine.

The Goddeſs became frantic, ſhe ran about the mountains and valleys, bewailed her children and worſhipers, and blaſphemed againſt Belus. Adonis heard her, he left the celeſtial regions and came down upon earth; ſhe perceived him at a diſtance, and would have thrown herſelf into the water to hide herſelf from his preſence, but he ſtopped her and ſat down by her; ſhe held down her head with ſhame and confuſion and was afraid to look upon him; finding at laſt that he made her no reproach ſhe raiſed her eyes from the ground, but durſt not yet fix them upon his face; ſhe recovered heart by degrees, ſhe obſerved him nearly, ſhe beheld him pale, meagre and disfigured; he had no longer any remains of his former beauty, he was covered with wounds and bruiſes; he continued a long time ſilent, and ſhe durſt not ſpeak; at laſt he ſaid to her, Ah Venus, inconſtant Venus! you bewail your own miſeries, but you are inſenſible to mine; to what a condition have you reduced me? JUDGE OF YOUR GUILT BY MY SUFFERINGS; the God Belus was going to deſtroy you and all your race if I had not ſoftened him: I came down myſelf upon earth to make reparation for your offences againſt the immutable laws of the empyreum, and to make war with all the monſters which your crimes have brought forth. (b) I have killed the ſerpent Python, the Nemean lion, the hydra of Lerna which ſprang

(b) *Mythras, Oſiris, Adonis, Apollo and Hercules are the different names of the middle God. See Diſc. p. 282.*

from

from your head when you became falſe, the Centaurs that devoured men, the Cyclops who forged the thunderbolts, the wild boar of Erymanthus that wounded me with his murderous tuſk, the Symphalian birds that ſpoiled the fruits of the earth, and the dragon which had ſeized the garden of Heſperia; I have driven them all down into hell, and am going to purſue them thither that I may complete my conqueſt: Adonis as he uttered theſe words fell into a mortal agony, a ſtream of blood guſhed forth from his heart and dyed the waters of the river Thammuz. All the children of Venus aſſembled about him, he opened his eyes from time to time, and repeated theſe words with a ſigh, JUDGE OF YOUR GUILT BY MY SUFFERINGS; he continued thus many hours, and at laſt expired through an exceſs of pain. His ſoul deſcended into hell to deliver Theſeus, Pirithoüs, all the heroes vanquiſhed by Pluto, and all the manes that ſuffered in thoſe gloomy habitations.

Venus bewailed her lover for nine days and nine nights: She continued diſconſolate near the dead body, and could not tear herſelf away from it. Being at length exhauſted with grief ſhe fell into a profound ſleep, nor did ſhe awake till her ears were ſtruck by a heavenly voice; ſhe looked up and beheld Adonis in the air ſurrounded by all the heroes, and all the ſhades which he had brought back from the dark abode. He had reſumed his firſt form and his priſtine beauty; he darted upon her a heavenly ray to reſtore her ſtrength and calm her ſpirit, and then ſaid to her: I have followed you, my dear Urania, I have followed you in all your wanderings; I deſcended into the moon, upon earth, and even into hell to deliver you and your diſloyal children; I have ſuffered all that a God can ſuffer in ſeeing your falſhood and inconſtancy; but you are now no longer inſenſible to my love, and I don't repent of my ſufferings; I leave you, but my

wiſdom ſhall never forſake you if you continue faithful to me; farewel, dear Urania, you can ſee me no more till you be transformed into my image, the Gods are only enamoured with their own beauty: You muſt ſuffer a thouſand miſeries before this happy metamorphoſis, nor can you re-aſcend to heaven but by the ſame way by which you fell from it; you muſt firſt be ſtripped of your terreſtrial body by ſufferings, diſeaſes and death; you ſhall then riſe to the regions of the moon where you will undergo a (c) ſecond death by the deſtruction of your aereal body; your pure ſpirit, free and diſengaged from every thing that could ſtop it, will fly away to the ſtars, where you will reſume your former beauty, but you muſt at length loſe even that before you are transformed into my image. When you have undergone theſe three metamorphoſes, expiated your guilt by the purifying pains of each new tranſformation, practiſed upon earth, in the moon and in the ſtars, all the human, heroic and divine virtues, you ſhall aſcend with me into the ſublime place above the heavens, where you ſhall ſee the God Belus, and the Goddeſs my mother; virtue, truth and juſtice, not as they are here below, but as they exiſt in him who is Being itſelf. Fear nothing, I will be preſent with you in all theſe ſtates, I will help you to ſupport your ſufferings if you never ceaſe to invoke me: Thoſe of your children who ſhall imitate your example ſhall re-aſcend with you to the fields of Hecate, the reſt ſhall deſcend to the gloomy kingdom of Pluto, and be there tormented till they are purified from their crimes. I have chained up the fierce Cerberus, henceforward he ſhall be only the vile inſtrument of my juſtice. (d) I have eſtabliſhed judges in hell, who will inflict puniſhments only to exterminate vice; they will not annihilate the eſſence of the ſoul, but reſtore it

(c) *See Diſc. p.* 293. (d) *See Diſc. p.* 327.

to

to a true exiſtence by purging it of all irregular paſſions. When your children have been (e) plunged nine times in the purifying waves of the burning Acheron, the chilling Styx, the black Cocytus, and the foaming Phlegeton, they ſhall at length drink the waters of the river Lethé, which will make them forget all their paſt miſeries and crimes. When there ſhall be no longer any mortal or immortal, in hell, upon earth, or in the planets that is not purified and prepared to behold my father, I will then return to baniſh all evils out of the univerſe, aboliſh hell, and re-eſtabliſh harmony throughout all the immenſity of ſpace; in the mean time aſſemble thoſe of your children who are willing to follow you, inſtitute feſtivals to my honour, and let them be annually celebrated with pomp to perpetuate the memory of your unfaithfulneſs and of my love.

Cyrus was overjoyed to ſee that all nations were agreed in the doctrine of the three ſtates of the world, the three forms of the Divinity, and a middle God, who by his conflicts and great ſufferings was to expiate and exterminate moral evil, and reſtore innocence and peace to the univerſe.

While he was yet at Tyre couriers came from Perſia to inform him that Mandana was dying: This news obliged him to ſuſpend his journey to Babylon, and to leave Phœnicia in haſte. At parting he embraced the King of Tyre: O Ecnibal; ſaid he, I envy neither your riches nor your magnificence; to

(e) *Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum*
Supplicia expendunt: Aliæ panduntur inanes,
Suſpenſæ ad ventos; aliis ſub gurgite vaſto
Infectum eluitur ſcelus, aut exurgitur igni.
Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Ætherium ſenſum, & auraï ſimplicis ignem.
Has omnes ubi mille rotam volvêre per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno:
Scilicet immemores ſupera ut convexa reviſant.

Æn. l. 6. ver. 740.

be perfectly happy, I desire only such a friend as Amenophis. Cyrus and Araspes crossed Arabia Deserta and a part of Chaldea; they passed the Tygris near the place where it joins the Euphrates, and entring Susiana, arrived in a few days at the capital of Persia. Cyrus hastened to see his mother; he found her dying, and gave himself up to grief, which he expressed by the most bitter complaints. The Queen, being tenderly affected with the sight of her son, endeavoured to moderate her affliction by these words; Comfort yourself, my son; souls never die; they are only condemned for a time to animate mortal bodies that they may expiate the faults they have committed in a former state: The time of my expiation is at an end; I am going to re-ascend to the sphere of fire; there I shall see Perseus, Arbaces, Dejoces, Phraortes, and all the heroes from whom you are descended; I will tell them that you resolve to imitate them: There I shall see Cassandana, she loves you still, death changes not the sentiments of virtuous souls: We shall be always with you though invisible, we will descend in a cloud and be your protecting genii; we will accompany you in the midst of dangers; we will engage the virtues to attend you; we will preserve you from all the errors and vices which corrupt the hearts of Princes: One day your dominion will be extended, and the oracles accomplished; O my son, my dear son, remember that you ought to have no other view in conquering nations than to establish among them the empire of virtue and reason. As she uttered these last words, she turned pale, a cold sweat spread itself over all her limbs, death closed her eyes, and her soul flew away to the empyreum: She was long lamented by all Persia, and Cambyses erected a stately monument to her memory. Cyrus's grief wore off only by degrees, and as necessity obliged him to apply himself to affairs of state.

Cambyses

Cambyſes was a religious and pacific Prince; he had never been out of Perſia, the manners of which were innocent and pure, but auſtere and rugged; he knew how to chooſe miniſters capable of ſupplying what was defective in his own talents; but he ſometimes yielded himſelf up too blindly to their conduct, from a diffidence of his own underſtanding: He prudently reſolved that Cyrus ſhould himſelf enter into the adminiſtration of affairs; and having ſent for him one day, ſaid to him: Your travels, my ſon, have improved your knowledge, and you ought to employ it for the good of your country: You are deſtined not only to govern this kingdom, but alſo, one day, to give law to all Aſia; you ſhould learn betimes the art of reigning, a ſtudy to which Princes ſeldom apply themſelves; they aſcend the throne before they know the duties of a King: I intruſt you with my authority, aud will have you exerciſe it under my inſpection; the talents of Soranes will not be uſeleſs to you, he is the ſon of an able miniſter, who ſerved me many years with fidelity; he is young, but indefatigable, knowing and qualified for all ſorts of employments.

Under the government of Cambyſes this miniſter had found it neceſſary to appear virtuous, nay, he thought himſelf really ſo, but his virtue had never been put to the trial: Soranes did not himſelf know the exceſs to which his boundleſs ambition could carry him. When Cyrus applied himſelf to learn the ſtate and condition of Perſia, her military ſtrength, and her intereſts both foreign and domeſtic, Soranes quickly ſaw with concern that he was going to loſe much of his authority under a Prince who had all the talents neceſſary for governing by himſelf; he endeavoured to captivate the mind of Cyrus, and ſtudied him a long time to diſcover his weakneſſes. The young Prince was not inſenſible to praiſe, but he loved to deſerve it; he had a taſte for pleaſure,

but he was not a ſlave to it; he did not diſlike magnificence, but he could refuſe himſelf every thing rather than oppreſs his people: Thus he was inacceſſible to flattery, and proof againſt voluptuouſneſs and pomp. Soranes perceived that there was no means to preſerve his credit with Cyrus, but by making himſelf neceſſary to him by his capacity: He diſplayed all his talents both in public and private councils; he ſhewed that he poſſeſſed the ſecrets of the wiſeſt policy, and at the ſame time could enter into that ſort of *detail* in buſineſs, the knowledge of which is one of the chief qualifications of a miniſter; he prepared and digeſted matters with ſo much order and clearneſs that he left his maſter little to do. Any other Prince would have been charmed to ſee himſelf excuſed from all application to buſineſs: But Cyrus reſolved to ſee every thing with his own eyes; he had a confidence in his father's miniſters, but he would not blindly yield himſelf up to their councils. When Soranes perceived that the Prince would himſelf ſee every thing to the bottom, he ſtudied to throw obſcurity over the moſt important affairs, that he might make himſelf yet more neceſſary. Cyrus obſerved the crafty conduct of this able and jealous miniſter, and managed him with ſo much delicacy that he drew from him by degrees what he endeavoured ſo artfully to conceal. When the Prince thought himſelf ſufficiently inſtructed, he let Soranes ſee that he would himſelf be his father's firſt miniſter; and in this manner moderated the authority of that favourite without giving him any juſt cauſe of complaint. The ambitious Soranes was nevertheleſs offended at the Prince's conduct, and could not, without mortal uneaſineſs, ſee the fall of his credit and that he was no longer neceſſary; this was the firſt ſource of his diſcontent, which might have proved fatal to Cyrus if his virtue and prudence had not preſerved him from it's effects.

Perſia

Perſia had for ſome ages been in ſubjection to Media, but upon the marriage of Cambyſes with Mandana, it had been ſtipulated that the King of Perſia ſhould for the future pay only a ſmall annual tribute as a mark of homage. From that time the Medes and Perſians had lived in perfect amity till the jealouſy of Cyaxares kindled the fire of diſcord. The Median Prince was inceſſantly calling to mind with vexation the oracles which were ſpread abroad concerning the future conqueſts of young Cyrus; he conſidered him as the deſtroyer of his power, and imagined already that he ſaw him entring Ecbatan to dethrone him; he was every moment ſoliciting Aſtyages to prevent thoſe fatal predictions, weaken the ſtrength of Perſia, and reduce it to it's former dependance. Mandana, while ſhe lived, had ſo dexterouſly managed her father as to hinder an open rupture between him and Cambyſes: But as ſoon as ſhe was dead, Cyaxares renewed his ſolicitations with the Median Emperor.

Cambyſes was informed of Cyaxares's deſigns and ſent Hyſtaſpes to the court of Ecbatan, to repreſent to Aſtyages the danger of mutually weakening each other's power, while the Aſſyrians, their common enemy, were forming ſchemes to extend their domination over all the Eaſt. Hyſtaſpes, by his addreſs, put a ſtop to the execution of Cyaxares's projects, and gained Cambyſes time to make his preparations in caſe of a rupture. The Prince of Media ſeeing that the wiſe counſels of Hyſtaſpes were favourably liſtened to by his father, and that there was no means ſuddenly to kindle a war, attempted by other ways to weaken the power of Perſia: Being informed of Soranes's diſcontent, he endeavoured to gain him by an offer of the firſt dignities in the empire. Soranes at firſt was ſhocked at the very thought; but being afterwards deceived by his reſentment, he knew not himſelf the ſecret motives upon

upon which he acted; his heart was not yet become insensible to virtue, but his lively imagination transformed objects, and represented them to him in the colours necessary to flatter his ambition; at length he got the better of all remorse, by reasoning with himself, that Cyaxares would one day be his lawful Emperor, and that Cambyses was but a tributary master. There is nothing which we cannot persuade ourselves to think when blinded and drawn away by strong passions. Thus he entred by degrees into a close correspondence with Cyaxares, and secretly employed all means to render Cyrus's administration odious to the Persians.

Cyrus had raised Araspes to the first dignities in the army, upon account of his capacity and talent for war; but he would not bring him into the senate, because it was a law in Persia that no stranger should sit in the supreme council. The perfidious Soranes nevertheless pressed the young Prince to infringe this law, knowing that it would be a sure means to excite the jealousy of the Satrapes, and to stir them up against Cyrus. You have need, said he to him, of a man like Araspes in your council: I know that good policy and our rules forbid the intrusting of strangers with the command of an army and the secrets of state at the same time; but a Prince may dispense with the laws when he can fulfil the intention of them by more sure and easy ways, and he ought never to be the slave of rules and customs: Men ordinarily act either from ambition or interest; load Araspes with dignities and riches; by that means you will make Persia his country: and will have no reason to doubt his fidelity. Cyrus was not aware of Soranes's secret design, but he loved justice too well to depart from it. I am persuaded, answered the Prince, of the fidelity and capacity of Araspes; I love him sincerely, but though my friendship were capable of making

ing me break the laws in his favour, he is too much attached to me ever to accept a dignity, which might excite the jealousy of the Persians, and give them cause to think that I was influenced by particular inclination and friendship in affairs of state.

Soranes, having in vain attempted to engage Cyrus to take this false step, endeavoured to surprize him another way, and to create a misunderstanding between him and his father: He artfully made him observe the King's imperfections, his want of capacity and genius, and the necessity of pursuing other maxims than his. The mild and peaceable government of Cambyses, said he to the Prince, is incompatible with noble views; if you content yourself like him with a pacific reign, how will you become a conqueror? Cyrus made no other use of these insinuations than to avoid the rocks upon which Cambyses had split; he did not lessen his deference and submission to his father whom he tenderly loved; he respected him even in his failings, which he endeavoured to conceal; he did nothing without his orders, but consulted him in such a manner, as at the same time to give him a just notion of things; he frequently discoursed with him in private, that the King might be able to decide in publick. Cambyses had judgment enough to distinguish and made himself master of the excellent advices of his son, who employed the superiority of his genius only to make his father's commands respected, and never displayed his talents but to strengthen the King's authority: So admirable a behaviour greatly increased Cambyses's affection and esteem for him, and his confidence in him; the Prince never abused it, but continued the same conduct, in which he thought he did nothing more than his duty.

Soranes, enraged to see all his schemes frustrated, endeavoured secretly to raise a distrust in the minds of the Satrapes, as if the Prince would incroach upon

their

their rights and ruin their authority; and in order to augment their jealousy, he endeavoured to inspire Cyrus with despotic principles. You are destined by the Gods, said he, to stretch your empire one day over all the East; in order to a happy execution of this design you should accustom the Persians to a blind obedience; captivate the Satrapes by dignities and pleasures; put them under a necessity of frequenting your court if they would partake of your favours; get the sovereign authority by degrees into your own hands; abridge the rights of the senate, leave it only the privilege of giving you counsel: A Prince should not abuse his power, but he ought never to share it with his subjects; monarchy is the most perfect kind of government; the true strength of a state, secrecy in councils, and expedition in enterprizes, depend upon the sovereign power's being lodged in a single person: A petty republic may subsist under the government of many heads, but great empires can be formed only by the absolute authority of one; other principles are the chimerical ideas of weak minds, who are conscious of their want of capacity to execute great designs.

The Prince was shocked at this discourse, but concealed his indignation out of prudence, and dextrously breaking off the conversation, left Soranes in a persuasion that he relished his maxims. As soon as Cyrus was alone, he made deep reflections on all that had passed; he called to mind the conduct of Amasis, and began to suspect Soranes's fidelity; he had not indeed any certain proofs of his perfidiousness; but a man who had the boldness to suggest to him such counsels seemed very dangerous at least, though he should not be a traitor. The young Prince by degrees excluded this minister from the secret of affairs, and sought for pretences to remove him from about his person, yet without doing any thing to affront him openly. Soranes quickly perceived this change,

change, and carried his resentment to the last extremities; he persuaded himself that Araspes was going to be put in his place, that Cyrus intended to make himself absolute master in Persia, and that this was the Prince's secret view in disciplining his troops with so much exactness. The jealousy and ambition of Soranes blinded him to such a degree, that he imagined he did his duty in practising the blackest treasons. He informed Cyaxares of all that passed in Persia; the augmentation of her forces, the preparations which were making for war, and Cyrus's design of extending his empire over all the East, under pretext of accomplishing certain pretended oracles, by which he imposed upon the people. Cyaxares made advantage of these advices to alarm Astyages, and to insinuate uneasiness and distrust into his mind; Hystaspes was ordered away from the court of Ecbatan, and the Emperor threatened Cambyses with a bloody war, if he did not consent to pay the ancient tribute, and return to the same dependance from which Persia had been set free, upon his marriage with Mandana: Cambyses's refusal was the signal of the war, and preparations were made on both sides (e).

In the mean while Soranes endeavoured to corrupt the chief officers of the army and weaken their courage, by insinuating that Astyages was their lawful Emperor, that the ambitious designs of Cyrus would ruin their country, and that they could never make head against the Median troops, who would overwhelm them with numbers. He continued likewise to increase the distrust of the senators, by artfully spreading a rumour among them, that Cyrus undertook this war against his grandfather, only to weaken their authority, and to usurp an absolute power.

(e) *Xenophon has suppressed this war, but Herodotus and other historians mention it. See M. Freret's letter.*

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He concealed all his plots with ſuch art, that it was almoſt impoſſible to diſcover them; every thing he ſaid was with ſo much caution, that there was no ſeeing into his ſecret intentions; nay there were certain moments in which he did not ſee them himſelf, but thought he was ſincere and zealous for the public good: His firſt remorſes returned from time to time, but he ſtifled them by perſuading himſelf that the ill deſigns he imputed to the Prince were real. Cyrus was quickly informed of the murmurs of the people; the army was ready to revolt, it was doubtful whether the ſenate would give the neceſſary ſubſidies, and the Emperor of the Medes was upon the point of entring Perſia at the head of ſixty thouſand men: The Prince was in the greateſt grief to ſee the cruel extremities to which his father was reduced, and the neceſſity of taking arms againſt his grandfather.

Cambyſes obſerving the Prince's ſtruggles between nature and duty ſaid to him, You know, my ſon, all that I have done to ſtifle the firſt ſeeds of our differences; I have laboured to no purpoſe; the war is inevitable; our country ought to be preferred to our family; hitherto you have aſſiſted me in buſineſs by your prudence, you muſt now give proofs of your courage: Would my age allow me to appear at the head of our troops, yet my preſence would be neceſſary here to keep the people in awe; go, my ſon, go and fight for your country; ſhew yourſelf the defender of it's liberty, as well as the preſerver of it's laws; ſecond the deſigns of heaven, render yourſelf worthy to accompliſh it's oracles; begin by delivering Perſia before you think of extending your conqueſts; let the nations ſee the effects of your courage, and admire your moderation in the midſt of your triumphs, that they may not hereafter fear your victories. Cyrus, encouraged by the magnanimous ſentiments of Cambyſes, and aided by the counſels

counſels of Harpagus and Hyſtaſpes, two generals of equal experience, formed an army of thirty thouſand men, compoſed of commanders, with whoſe fidelity he was well acquainted, and veteran troops of known bravery. As ſoon as all preparations were made, they began by ſacrifices and other religious rites. Cyrus after this drew up his troops in a ſpacious plain near the capital, aſſembled the ſenate and the Satrapes, and with a ſweet and majeſtic air thus harangued the officers of his army.

War is unlawful when it is not neceſſary; that which we at preſent undertake is not to ſatisfy ambition or the deſire of domination, but to defend our liberties: It is true our enemies underſtand military diſcipline, and they ſurpaſs us in number; but they are ſoftened by luxury and a long peace; your ſouls are full of that noble ardour which makes men deſpiſe death when they are to fight for liberty; your ſevere life has accuſtomed you to fatigue; nothing is impoſſible to thoſe whom no ſufferings nor difficult enterprizes can diſhearten: As for me, I will diſtinguiſh myſelf from you in nothing but in leading the way through labours and dangers; all our proſperities and all our misfortunes ſhall hereafter be common. He then turned to the ſenators, and with a fierce and ſevere countenance ſaid, Cambyſes is not ignorant of the intrigues at the court of Ecbatan, to ſow jealouſy and diſtruſt in your minds; he knows that you heſitate about giving him ſubſidies, but having foreſeen the war he has taken his precautions, one battle will decide the fate of Perſia, he does not want your aſſiſtance: However, remember that the liberty of your country is at preſent in queſtion; is not this liberty more ſecure in the hands of my father your lawful Prince, than in thoſe of the Emperor of the Medes, who holds all the neighbouring Kings in a tributary dependance? If Cambyſes ſhould be vanquiſhed, your privileges are loſt for ever; if he prove victorious

victorious they will be preserved to you, unless you force the justice of a Prince, whom you have incensed by your secret cabals, to deprive you of them. The Prince by this discourse intimidated some, confirmed others in their duty, and united all in one design of contributing to the preservation of their country. Soranes appeared more zealous than any, and earnestly requested to have some command in the army: But as Cyrus had not concealed from Cambyses his just suspicions of that minister, the King did not suffer himself to be imposed upon by appearances; under pretext of providing for the security of the capital, he kept him near his person, but gave orders to watch his conduct; so that Soranes was a prisoner without perceiving it.

Cyrus having learnt that Astyages had marched his troops through the deserts of Isatis in order to enter Persia, prevented him by a most surprising diligence: He cross'd over craggy mountains, the passes of which he secured, and gain'd the plains of Pasagarda by such routs as would have been impracticable to any other than an army accustomed to fatigue, and conducted by so active and vigilant a general. Cyrus seiz'd the most advantageous posts, and encamped near a ridge of mountains which defended him on one side, fortifying himself on the other by a double entrenchment. Astyages quickly appeared, and encamped in the same plain near a lake, and the two armies continued in sight of each other for several days. Cyrus could not without great concern look forward to the consequences of a war against his grandfather, and therefore employed this time in sending to Astyages's camp a Satrap, named Artabasus, who spoke to the Emperor in the following manner: Cyrus, your grandson, has an abhorrence of the war which he has been forced to undertake against you: He has neglected nothing to prevent it, nor will refuse any means to put an end to it; he is

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not deaf to the voice of nature, but he cannot ſacrifice the liberty of the Perſians; he would willingly reconcile by an honourable treaty the love of his country with filial affection; he is in a condition to make war, but at the ſame time is not aſhamed to aſk peace. The Emperor, ſtill irritated by Cyaxares, perſiſted in his firſt reſolution, and Artabaſus returned without ſucceeding in his negotiation.

Cyrus ſeeing himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of hazarding a battle, and knowing of what importance it is, in affairs of war, to deliberate with many, to decide with few, and to execute with ſpeed, aſſembled his principal officers and heard all their opinions; he then took his reſolution, which he communicated only to Hyſtaſpes and Harpagus. The day following he cauſed a rumour to be ſpread in the army of the enemy, that he intended to retire, not daring to engage with unequal forces. Before he left the camp he ordered the uſual ſacrifices to be offered; he made libations of wine, and all the chief officers did the ſame: He gave for the word, MYTHRAS THE CONDUCTOR AND SAVIOUR, and then mounting his horſe commanded every man to his poſt. The ſoldiers cuiraſſes were compoſed of plates of iron of divers colours, and like the ſcales of fiſh; their caſques were of braſs, adorned with a great white feather; over their ſhields, made of willow twigs interwoven, hung their quivers; their darts were ſhort, their bows long, their arrows made of canes, and their ſcymitars hung upon their right thighs. The royal ſtandard was a golden eagle with it's wings expanded; the Kings of Perſia have ever ſince had the ſame.

Cyrus decamped by night, and advanced in the plains of Paſagarda; Aſtyages, imagining that the Prince fled before him, made haſte to come up with him by ſun-riſing; Cyrus on a ſudden drew up his army in order of battle, and only twelve deep, that

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the javelins and darts of the laſt rank might reach the enemy, and that all the parts might ſupport and aſſiſt each other without confuſion: He choſe out of each battalion a ſelect company, of which he formed a triangular Phalanx after the manner of the Greeks; he placed this body of reſerve behind his army, commanding it not to ſtir till he himſelf ſhould give expreſs orders. The plain was covered with duſt and ſand, and the North-wind blew hard. Cyrus by wheeling a little poſted his army ſo advantageouſly, that the riſing duſt was driven full in the faces of the Medes, and favoured his ſtratagem; Harpagus commanded the right wing, Hyſtaſpes the left, Araſpes the centre, and Cyrus was preſent every where. The army of the Medes was compoſed of ſeveral ſquare battalions thirty deep, all ſtanding cloſe to be the more impenetrable; in the front were the chariots, with great ſcythes faſtened to the axle-trees.

Cyrus ordered Harpagus and Hyſtaſpes to extend the two wings by degrees, in order to incloſe the Medes. While he was ſpeaking he heard a clap of thunder: We follow thee, great Oromazes, cried he, and in the ſame inſtant began the hymn of battle, to which all the troops anſwered with loud ſhouts, invoking the God Mythras. Cyrus's army preſented it's front in a ſtrait line to deceive Aſtyages; but the centre marching ſlower, and the wings faſter, the whole was ſoon formed into a creſcent. The Medes broke through the firſt ranks of the centre, and advanced to the laſt; they began already to cry, Victory! but then Cyrus advanced with his body of reſerve, while Harpagus and Hyſtaſpes ſurrounded the enemy on all ſides, and the battle was renewed. The triangular Phalanx of the Perſians pierced the battalions of the Medes, and turned aſide their chariots: Cyrus, mounted on a foaming ſteed, flew from rank to rank; the fire of his eyes animated the ſoldiers, and

and the ſerenity of his countenance baniſhed all fear: In the heat of battle he was active, calm and preſent to himſelf; he ſpoke to ſome, encouraged others by ſigns, and kept every one in his poſt. The Medes being ſurrounded on all ſides were attacked in front, in rear and in flank; the Perſians cloſe in upon them and cut them in pieces; nothing was heard but the claſhing of arms and the groans of the dying; ſtreams of blood covered the plain; deſpair, rage and cruelty ſpread ſlaughter and death every where: Cyrus alone felt a generous pity; Aſtyages and Cyaxares being taken priſoners, he gave orders to ſound a retreat and put an end to the battle.

Cyaxares, inflamed with rage and with all the paſſions that take hold of a proud mind when fallen from it's hopes, would not ſee Cyrus: He pretended to be wounded, and ſent to aſk permiſſion to return to Ecbatan, to which Cyrus conſented. Aſtyages was conducted with pomp to the capital of Perſia, not like a conquered Prince, but like a victorious one: Being no longer importuned by the evil counſels of his ſon, he made a peace, and Perſia was declared a free kingdom for ever; this was the firſt ſervice that Cyrus did his country. The ſucceſs of this war, ſo contrary to the expectation of Soranes, opened his eyes. Had the event been anſwerable to his deſires, he would ſtill have continued in his perfidiouſneſs; but finding that his projects were diſconcerted, and that it was impoſſible to conceal them any longer, he ſhrunk with horror to behold the dreadful condition into which he had brought himſelf, the crimes he had committed, and the certain diſgrace which would follow: Not able to endure this proſpect, he fell into deſpair, killed himſelf, and left a ſad example to poſterity of the exceſſes to which boundleſs ambition may carry the greateſt genius's, even when their hearts are not entirely corrupted. After his death Cyrus was informed of all

the particulars of his treachery. The Prince, without applauding himself for having early seen into the character of this minister, beheld with concern, and lamented the unhappy condition of man, who often loses all the fruits of his talents, and sometimes precipitates himself into the greatest crimes, by giving way to an unruly imagination and a blind passion.

As soon as the peace was concluded Astyages returned into his own dominions. After his departure Cyrus assembled the senators, Satrapes and all the heads of the people, and said to them in the name of the King: My father's arms have set Persia free from all foreign dependance. He might now, with a victorious army at his devotion, destroy your privileges, and govern with absolute authority; but he abhors such maxims: It is only under the empire of Arimanius that force alone presides; Princes are the images of the great Oromazes, and ought to imitate his conduct; his sovereign reason is the rule of his will: How wise and just soever Princes may be, they are still but men, and consequently have prejudices and passions; nay, were they exempt from these, they cannot see and hear every thing; they have need of faithful counsellors to inform and assist them. 'Tis thus that Cambyses resolves to govern; he will reserve no more power than is necessary to do good, and chooses to have such restraints as may hinder him from doing ill: Senators banish your fears; lay aside your distrusts; recognize your King: He preserves all your rights to you; assist him in making the Persians happy; he desires to reign over free children, and not over slaves. At these words joy was diffused through the whole assembly. Some cried out, Is not this the God Mythras himself come down from the empyreum to renew the reign of Oromazes? Others, dissolved in tears, were unable to speak: The old men looked on him as their son, the young men called him father; all Persia seemed but one

one family. It was thus that Cyrus avoided all the snares of Soranes, triumphed over the plots of Cyaxares, and restored liberty to the Persians: He never had recourse to cowardly artifice, or mean dissimulation unworthy of great souls.

Astyages died soon after his return to Ecbatan, and left the empire to Cyaxares. Cambyses foreseeing that the turbulent and jealous spirit of that Prince would soon excite new disturbances, resolved to seek an alliance with the Assyrians. The Emperor of Media and the King of Babylon had been for an hundred years past the two rival powers of the East; they were continually endeavouring to weaken each other in order to become masters of Asia. Cambyses, who knew his son's abilities, proposed to him that he should go in person to the court of Nabuchodonosor, to treat with Amytis, the wife of that Prince and sister of Mandana; she governed the kingdom during the King's madness. Cyrus had been hindered from going thither some years before by his mother's sickness: He was exceedingly pleased with a journey to Babylon, not only that he might serve his country, but that he might likewise have an opportunity of conversing with the Hebrews, whose oracles (as he had learned from Zoroaster) contained predictions of his future greatness; and he had no less desire to see the miserable condition of King Nabuchodonosor, the report of which was spread over all the East. Having filled the council and senate with men of approved loyalty and capacity, he left Persia, crossed Susiana, and soon arrived at Babylon.

THE TRAVELS OF CYRUS.

EIGHTH BOOK.

BABYLON, the seat of the Assyrian monarch, had been founded by Semiramis, but Nabuchodonosor had given it it's principal beauties. This conqueror after long and difficult wars, finding himself in perfect tranquillity, applied his thoughts to make his capital one of the wonders of the world. It was situated in a vast plain, watered by the Euphrates; the canals cut from this river made the fruitfulness of the soil so great, that it yielded the King as much as the half of his empire. (a) The walls of the city were built of large brick, cemented together with bitumen, or a slime arising out of the earth, which in time became harder than marble; they were fifty cubits thick, two hundred high, and formed a perfect square twenty leagues in compass; an hundred and fifty towers, raised at certain distances upon these inaccessible walls, commanded all the country round about; an hundred gates of brass regularly disposed opened

(a) *See Herod. lib.* 1. *Diod. Sic. lib.* 2. *Q. Curt. lib.* 5. *and Prideaux.*

to an innumerable multitude of people of all nations; fifty great ſtreets traverſed the city from ſide to ſide, and by croſſing each other formed above ſix hundred large diviſions, in which were ſtately palaces, delightful gardens and magnificent ſquares. The Euphrates flowed through the middle of Babylon, and over that river was a bridge built with ſurpriſing art; at it's two extremities were two palaces, the old one to the Eaſt, the new one to the Weſt; near the old palace was the temple of Belus, from the centre of this building roſe a pyramid ſix hundred foot high, and compoſed of eight towers one above another; from the top of this pyramid the Babylonians obſerved the motions of the ſtars, which was their favourite ſtudy, and by which they made themſelves famous in other nations. At the other end of the bridge ſtood the new palace, which was eight miles in circuit; it's famous hanging gardens, which were ſo many large terraſſes one above another, roſe like an amphitheatre to the height of the city walls; the whole maſs was ſupported by divers arches built upon other arches, all covered with broad ſtones ſtrongly cemented, and over them was firſt a layer of reed mixed with bitumen, then two rows of bricks, and over theſe thick ſheets of lead, which made the whole impenetrable to rain or any moiſture; the mould which covered all was of that depth as to have room enough for the greateſt trees to take root in it: In theſe gardens were long walks, which ran as far as the eye could reach; bowers, green plots and flowers of all kinds; canals, baſons and aqueducts to water and adorn this place of delights; a moſt ſurpriſing collection of all the beauties of nature and art.

The author or rather the creator of ſo many prodigies, equal to Hercules in bravery, and ſuperior to the greateſt men by his genius, was, after incredible ſucceſſes, fallen into a kind of madneſs; he ima-

gined himſelf transformed into a beaſt, and had all the fierceneſs of one. As ſoon as Cyrus was arrived at Babylon, he went to ſee Queen Amytis: This Princeſs had for near ſeven years been plunged in a deep ſadneſs; but ſhe was beginning to moderate her grief, becauſe the Hebrews, who were then captives in the city, had promiſed her that the King ſhould be cured in a few days. The Queen was waiting that happy moment with great impatience; the wonders ſhe had ſeen performed by Daniel made her confide in what he ſaid. Cyrus, from a reſpectful conſideration of the affliction of Amytis, avoided ſpeaking to her concerning the principal deſign of his journey; he was ſenſible that it was not a favourable conjuncture to treat of political affairs, and waited for the King's cure, though with little hopes: In the mean while he endeavoured to ſatisfy his curioſity touching the religion and manners of the Iſraelites. Daniel was not then at Babylon, but was gone to viſit and conſole the Hebrews diſperſed throughout Aſſyria. Amytis made Cyrus acquainted with an illuſtrious Hebrew named Eleazar: The Prince being informed that the people of God did not look upon the King's frenzy as a natural diſtemper, but as a puniſhment from heaven, deſired the Hebrew Philoſopher to tell him the reaſon of it.

Nabuchodonoſor, ſaid the Hebrew Sage, being led away by impious men who were about him, came at length to ſuch an exceſs of irreligion, that he blaſphemed againſt THE MOST HIGH; and to crown his impiety, he erected a golden ſtatue of an enormous ſize in the plain of Dura, and commanded that it ſhould be adored by all the nations he had ſubdued. He was admoniſhed by divine dreams, that he ſhould be puniſhed for his idolatry and pride in this life: A Hebrew named Daniel, a man famous for ſcience, virtue and his knowledge of futurity, explained to him thoſe dreams, and denounced God's judgments

judgments which were ready to fall upon him. The words of the Prophet made at firſt ſome impreſſion upon the King's mind; but being ſurrounded by profane men who deſpiſed the heavenly powers, he neglected the divine admonition, and gave himſelf up anew to his impiety. At the end of the year, while he was walking in his gardens, admiring the beauty of his own works, the ſplendor of his glory, and the greatneſs of his empire, he exalted himſelf above humanity, and became an idolater of his own proud imaginations. He heard a voice from heaven, ſaying, O King Nabuchodonoſor, to thee it is ſpoken, The kingdom is departed from thee, and they ſhall drive thee from men, and thou ſhalt eat graſs as the beaſts of the field till ſeven years are paſſed, and until thou know that THE MOST HIGH ruleth over all the kingdoms of the univerſe, and giveth them to whomſoever he will. In the ſame hour was the thing fulfilled and his reaſon was taken from him; he was ſeized with a frenzy, and with fits of raging madneſs; in vain they attempted to hold him by chains; he broke all his irons and ran away into the mountains and plains, roaring like a lion; no one can approach him without running the hazard of being torn in pieces. He has no repoſe nor intervals of reaſon except one day in the week, which is the Sabbath (b); he then holds diſcourſes which ſhould ſtrike the impious with terror. It is now almoſt ſeven years that he has been in this condition, and we are expecting his total recovery in a few days, according to the divine prediction.

Here Cyrus ſighed, and could not forbear ſaying, In all the countries through which I paſs, I ſee nothing but ſad examples of the weakneſs and misfortunes of Princes: In Egypt Apries ſuffers himſelf

(b) *See Megaſt. and Abyden. quoted by Joſephus. Ant. lib.* 10 *cap.* 11. *and by Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib.* 9. *cap.* 41.

to be made a ſacrifice by his blind friendſhip for a perfidious favourite; at Sparta two young Kings were going to ruin the ſtate, if not prevented by the wiſdom of Chilo; the deplorable fate of Periander and his whole family at Corinth, will be a dreadful example to poſterity of the miſeries which tyrants and uſurpers draw upon themſelves; at Athens Piſiſtratus is twice dethroned; Polycrates King of Samos ſuffers himſelf to be impoſed upon ſo far as to perſecute innocence; in Crete the ſucceſſors of Minos have deſtroyed the moſt perfect of all governments; here Nabuchodonoſor draws upon himſelf the wrath of heaven by his impiety: Great Oromazes! was it only in your anger then that you gave Kings to mortals? Are grandeur and virtue incompatible?

The morning of the Sabbath, Cyrus, accompanied by Eleazar, went to the place which the King of Babylon frequented; they beheld the unfortunate Prince come out of the Euphrates, and lye down under ſome willows which were upon the banks of the river. They approached him in ſilence; he was ſtretched upon the graſs with his eyes turned towards heaven; from time to time he ſent forth deep ſighs, accompanied with bitter tears; in the midſt of his misfortunes there was ſtill upon his face an air of greatneſs, which ſhewed that THE MOST HIGH in puniſhing had not entirely forſaken him: They forbore out of reſpect to ſpeak to him, or to interrupt the profound grief in which he ſeemed to be plunged. Cyrus deeply ſtruck with the ſad ſituation of this great Prince ſtood immoveable, and on his countenance appeared all the tokens of a ſoul ſeized with terror and compaſſion: The King of Babylon obſerved it, and without knowing who he was ſaid to him: Heaven ſuffers me to have intervals of reaſon, to make me ſenſible that I do not poſſeſs it as a property; that it comes from another;

that

that a ſuperior Being takes it from me and reſtores it when he pleaſes ; and that he who gives it me is a ſovereign intelligence, who holds all nature in his hand, and can diſpoſe it in order or overturn it according to his pleaſure. Heretofore being blinded by pride and corrupted by proſperity, I ſaid within myſelf, and to all the falſe friends who were about me ; We are born as it were by chance, and after death we ſhall be as if we had never been ; the ſoul is a ſpark of fire which goes out when the body is reduced to aſhes ; come, let us enjoy the preſent good, let us make haſte to exhauſt all pleaſures ; let us drink the moſt delicious wines, and perfume ourſelves with odoriferous oils ; let us crown ourſelves with roſes before they wither ; let ſtrength be our only law, and pleaſure the rule of our duty ; let us make the juſt fall into our ſnares, becauſe he diſhonours us by his virtue ; let us examine him with affronts and torments, that we may ſee whether he be ſincere Thus it was that I blaſphemed againſt heaven, and this is the ſource of my miſeries ; alas ! I have but too much obſerved them. Scarce had he pronounced theſe words, when he ſtarted up, ran away, and hid himſelf in the neighbouring foreſt.

The words of Nabuchodonoſor augmented the young Prince's reſpect for the Deity, and redoubled his deſire of being fully inſtructed in the religion of the Hebrews ; he frequently ſaw Eleazar, and by degrees contracted a cloſe friendſhip with him. The Eternal being watchful over Cyrus, whom he had choſen to bring about the deliverance of his people, thought fit to prepare him by his converſation with the Hebrew Sage, to receive ſoon after the inſtructions of the Prophet Daniel. Ever ſince the captivity of the Iſraelites, the Hebrew Doctors, who were diſperſed in the ſeveral nations, had applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the profane ſciences, and

endeavour to reconcile religion with philoſophy: In order thereto they embraced or forſook the literal ſenſe of the ſacred books, according as it ſuited with their notions, or was repugnant to them: They taught that the Hebrew traditions were often folded up in allegories, according to the Eaſtern cuſtom, but they pretended to explain them; and this was what gave riſe afterwards to that famous ſect among the Hebrews called the Allegoriſts. Eleazar was of the number of thoſe philoſophers, and was with reaſon eſteemed one of the greateſt genius's of his age; he was verſed in all the ſciences of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, and had held ſeveral diſputes with the eaſtern Magi, to prove that the religion of the Hebrews was not only the moſt ancient, but the moſt conformable to reaſon. Cyrus having divers times diſcourſed with Eleazar upon all he had learned in Perſia, Egypt and Greece, concerning the great revolutions which had happened in the univerſe, deſired him one day to explain to him the doctrine of the Hebrew philoſophers, concerning the three ſtates of the world.

(e) We adore, anſwered Eleazar, but one only God, infinite, eternal, immenſe: He has defined himſelf, HE WHO IS, to denote, that he exiſts of himſelf, and that all other beings exiſt only by him: Being rich by the riches of his own nature, and happy by his own ſupreme felicity, he had no need to produce other ſubſtances to augment his glory; nevertheleſs, by a noble and free effort of his beneficent will, he has created divers orders of intelligences to make them happy. Man firſt forms the plan of his work before he executes it; but THE ETERNAL conceives, produces and diſpoſes every thing in order, by the ſame act, without labour or ſucceſſion: He thinks, and immediately all the poſſible ways of repreſenting himſelf outwardly appear

(b) *See Diſc. p.* 341.

before

before him; a world of ideas presents itself to the divine intellect. He wills, and instantly real beings resembling those ideas exist in his immensity; the whole universe and the vast expanse of nature, distinct from the divine Essence, is produced. The Creator has represented himself two ways, by simple pictures, and by living images. Hence there are two sorts of creatures essentially different, material nature and intelligent nature; the one represents only some perfections of it's original, the other knows and enjoys it; there are an infinite number of spheres full of such intelligent beings. Sometimes these spirits plunge themselves into the unfathomable depths of the divine Nature to adore it's beauties, which are ever new; at other times they admire the perfections of the Creator in his works; this is their two-fold happiness: They cannot incessantly contemplate the splendor of the divine Essence; their weak and finite nature requires that they should sometimes vail their eyes; this is the reason why the material world was created, the refreshment of the intellectual.

Two sorts of spirits lost this happiness by their disloyalty; the one called Cherubim, were of a superior order, and are now infernal spirits; the other called Ischim, were of a less perfect nature; these are the souls which actually inhabit mortal bodies. The chief of the Cherubim approached nearer the throne than the other spirits: He was crowned with the most excellent gifts of THE MOST HIGH, but lost his wisdom by a vain complacency in himself: Being enamoured with his own beauty, he beheld and considered himself, and was dazzled with the lustre of his own light; he grew proud, rebelled, and drew into his rebellion the greater part of the genii of his order. The Ischim became too much attached to material objects, and in the enjoyment of created pleasures, forgot

the ſupreme beatitude of ſpirits; the firſt were too much elated with pride, the ſecond debaſed themſelves by ſenſuality. Upon this there happened a great revolution in the heavens; the ſphere of the Cherubim became a dark chaos, where thoſe unhappy intelligences deplore, without conſolation, their loſt felicity. The Iſchim being leſs guilty, becauſe they had ſin'd through weakneſs, were leſs ſeverely puniſhed: That they might forget their former ſtate, God ſuffered them to fall into a kind of lethargy or fatal inſenſibility, from which they awake only to enter ſucceſſively into mortal bodies: The organic moulds of all human bodies were ſhut up in that of Adam, and the order of generation was eſtabliſhed; each ſoul awakens in ſuch a body, and in ſuch time, place and circumſtances as ſuit beſt with the decrees of eternal Wiſdom: The earth changed it's form, it was no longer a garden of delights, but a place of baniſhment and miſery, where the continual war of the elements ſubjected men to diſeaſes and death. This is the hidden meaning of the great Hebrew law-giver, when he ſpeaks of the terreſtrial paradiſe, and of the fall of our firſt parents. Adam does not repreſent one ſingle man, but all mankind. (f) Every nation has it's allegories, and we have ours: Thoſe who do not comprehend them look upon our hiſtory of the forbidden fruit and of the ſpeaking ſerpent as fables more abſurd than the Mythology of the Perſians, Egyptians and Greeks concerning the fall of Arimanius, the rebellion of Typhon, and the golden apples in the garden of the Heſperides: All theſe allegories are founded upon the ſame tradition more or leſs diſguiſed. The weak and ignorant in every religion ſtick to the letter which kills, and the impious ſcoff at it; but neither the one nor the other underſtand the ſpirit which gives life.

(f) *See Diſc. p.* 340, 341.

Souls

Souls being once disunited from their origin had no longer any fixed principle of union; the order of generation, mutual wants and self-love became here below the only bonds of our transient society, and took the place of justice, friendship and the love of order, which unite the heavenly spirits. Divers other changes happened in this mortal abode, suitable to the state of souls who suffer, and deserve to suffer, and are to be cured by their sufferings. In the end the great Prophet, whom we call the MESSIAH, will come and restore order in the universe: It is he who is the head, and the conductor of all intelligent natures; he is the firstborn of all creatures; the Deity united himself to him in an intimate manner from the beginning of time, and he has united himself to a portion of matter which serves him for a tabernacle; from this luminous center incessantly stream rays that enlighten all the regions of immensity; this glorious body is the sun of the heavenly Jerusalem; the emanations of this adorable SHECHINAH are the life and light of all bodies, as those of his Divinity are the reason and happiness of all intelligences: It was this Messiah who conversed with our fathers under a human form; it was he who appeared to our law-giver, upon the holy mount; in was he who spoke to the prophets under a visible appearance; it is he who will at last come in triumph upon the clouds, to restore the universe to it's primitive splendor and felicity. How august a thing is religion, how worthy of God, how sublime in it's simplicity when the vail which hides it from profane eyes is removed!

Cyrus transported with these sublime ideas would by no means interrupt the Philosopher; but seeing that he had done speaking he said: I find that your Theology is perfectly conformable to the doctrine of the Persians, Egyptians and Greeks, concerning the three states of the world. Zoroaster being versed in

the ſciences of the Gymnoſophiſts, ſpoke to me of the empire of Oromazes before the rebellion of Arimanius, as of a ſtate in which all ſpirits were happy and perfect: In Egypt the religion of Hermes repreſents the reign of Oſiris, before the monſter Typhon broke through the mundane egg, as a ſtate exempt from miſeries and paſſions: Orpheus has ſung the golden age as a ſtate of ſimplicity and innocence. Each nation has formed an idea of this primitive world according to it's genius; the Magi, who are all aſtronomers, have placed it in the ſtars; the Egyptians, who are all philoſophers, have fancied it a republic of ſages; the Greeks, who delight in rural ſcenes, have deſcribed it as a country of ſhepherds. I farther obſerve that the traditions of all nations foretel the coming of a hero, who is to deſcend from heaven to bring back Aſtræa to the earth: The Perſians call him Mythras, the Egyptians Orus, the Tyrians Adonis, the Greeks Apollo, Hercules, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter the Conductor and Saviour. It is true they differ in their deſcriptions, but all agree in the ſame truths; they are all ſenſible that man is not now what he was, and believe that he will one day aſſume a more perfect form; God cannot ſuffer an eternal blemiſh in his work; evil had a beginning and it will have an end; then will be the triumph of light over darkneſs? that is the time fixed by deſtiny for the total deſtruction of Typhon, Arimanius and Pluto, the preſcribed period in all religions for re-eſtabliſhing the reign of Oromazes, Oſiris, Belus and Saturn. Nevertheleſs there ariſes one great difficulty, which no philoſopher has yet been able to ſolve me. I do not conceive how evil could happen under the government of a God who is good, wiſe and powerful; if he be wiſe he might have foreſeen it; if he be powerful he might have hindered it; and if he be good he would have prevented it: Shew me which way to

juſtify

juſtify the eternal Wiſdom; why has God created free beings, intelligences capable of evil? Why has he beſtowed on them ſo fatal a gift?

Liberty, anſwered Eleazar, is a neceſſary conſequence of our reaſonable nature. To be free is to be able to chooſe; to chooſe is to prefer: Every being capable of reaſoning and comparing can prefer, and conſequently chooſe. It is true, in every choice we neceſſarily chooſe what appears to us the beſt, but we can ſuſpend our choice till we have examined whether the good that preſents itſelf be a real good or only an apparent one: The ſoul is not free to ſee or not ſee the objects ſhe looks upon, to diſcern or not diſcern their differences when ſhe ſees them, or to chooſe without a reaſon for chooſing; but ſhe is free to look or not look, to conſider objects on one ſide only or on ſeveral, to chooſe them for a good or for a bad reaſon: We are never invincibly captivated by any finite good, becauſe we are able to think of a greater good, and ſo may diſcover a ſuperior charm which will carry us away from the leſs attractive object; and it is on this activity natural to all rational beings that liberty depends: Spirits only are active and capable of ſelf-motion: God gives them activity as well as being; an activity different from his, as well as a ſubſtance diſtinct from his. One of the eſſential differences between bodies and ſouls is this, the one are neceſſarily tranſported wherever the moving power carries them, the other ſuffer themſelves to be moved only by the reaſon that enlightens them. God could not give us intelligence without giving us liberty.

But could he not, replied Cyrus, have hindered us from abuſing our liberty, by ſhewing us truth with ſo clear an evidence, that it would have been impoſſible to miſtake? When the ſovereign beauty diſplays his infinitely attractive charms they ſeize and engroſs the whole will, and make all inferior amiableneſs

ableneſs vaniſh, as the riſing ſun diſpels the ſhades of night. The pureſt light, anſwered Eleazar, does not illuminate thoſe who will not ſee; now every finite intelligence may turn away his eyes from the truth. I have already told you that ſpirits cannot inceſſantly contemplate the ſplendors of the divine Eſſence; they are obliged from time to time to cover their faces; it is then that ſelf-love may ſeduce them and make them take an apparent good for a real one; this falſe good may dazzle them and draw them away from the true good. Self-love is inſeparable from our nature. God in loving himſelf eſſentially loves order, becauſe HE IS ORDER; but the creature may love itſelf without loving order; to what degree of perfection ſoever we ſuppoſe it raiſed, it is ſtill finite, and conſequently capable of purſuing, contrary to the will of the Creator, a good which it has not in it's poſſeſſion; hence every created ſpirit is neceſſarily and eſſentially fallible: To aſk why God has made fallible intelligences, is to aſk why he has made them finite, or why he has not created gods as perfect as himſelf: A thing impoſſible.

Cannot God, continued Cyrus, employ his almighty power, to force free intelligences to ſee and reliſh truth? Under the empire of God himſelf, anſwered Eleazar, deſpotic rule and liberty are incompatible. God does every thing he pleaſes in heaven and upon earth; but he will not employ his abſolute power to deſtroy the free nature of intelligent beings; if he did, they would act no longer from choice but neceſſity; they would obey, but they would not love: Now love is what God demands, and it is the only worſhip worthy of him; he does not require it for any advantage to himſelf, but for the good of his creatures; he will have them happy and contribute to their own happineſs; happy by love, and by a love of pure choice:

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It is thus that their merit augments their felicity.

But cou'd not the Deity, said Cyrus, have employed infallible means to secure the happiness of intelligent beings, without violating their liberty? Has he not a sovereign dominion over spirits as well as bodies? Can he not change the most rebellious and stubborn wills, and make them pliable and submissive to his orders? In a word, cou'd he not have found expedients in the inexhaustible treasures of his power, wisdom and goodness, to subject free agents as well as necessary ones to his eternal purposes? Doubtless, answered Eleazar, we cannot form too high an idea of the perfections of the infinitely perfect Being; he wills the happiness of all intelligences, knows all the means requisite to accomplish his will, and sooner or later will render those means absolutely and infallibly efficacious without violating the liberty of spirits. The permission of sin, expiatory pains, and all the fatal consequences of our rebellion, are a part of those means and of the plan of his adorable providence. God first exerted all the efforts of his power, he exhausted, so to speak, all the treasures of his wisdom, he displayed all the charms of his goodness, he neglected nothing to prevent the fall of Spirits. Seeing at last that he could not keep them in the love of order, without violating their liberty, he left them for a moment to the fatal consequences of their wandrings, because he knew how to make all end in the accomplishment of his decrees. He who calls being out of nothing can draw an infinite good from a transient evil, order from confusion, the universal beauty of his work from a slight blemish which he suffers in it, and the permaneut happiness of all spirits from the momentaneous pains which a small number of intelligences suffer by their own fault. All the heavenly hosts are spectators of what passes here below, and are confirmed for ever

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in the love of order, by ſeeing the terrible effects and natural conſequences of our unfaithfulneſs. This is the reaſon why God ſuffers evil for a moment; our example is an eternal leſſon to all ſpirits. The conduct of God offends us only becauſe we are finite and mortal: We ſee not the whole plan of it, we judge of it only by ſmall pieces. Let us raiſe our thoughts above this place of baniſhment, let us run over all the celeſtial regions, we ſhall ſee diſorder and evil no where but in this corner of the univerſe. The earth is but an atom in compariſon of immenſity; the whole extent of time is but a moment in reſpect of eternity: Theſe two infinitely ſmall points will one day diſappear; yet a little moment and evil will be no more; but our limited minds and our ſelf-love magnify objects, and make us look upon that point which divides the two eternities as ſomething great.

Could not the infinite goodneſs of God, ſaid Cyrus, have brought back his offending creatures to order without making them ſuffer? A good father will never make uſe of puniſhments when he can gain his children by mildneſs.

I have already told you, anſwered Eleazar, that we are capable of a twofold happineſs: Should God, after our rebellion, continue to us the full enjoyment of created pleaſure, we ſhould never aſpire to an union with the Creator; we ſhould content our ſelves with an inferior happineſs, without any endeavours to attain to the ſupreme beatitude of our nature. The only means to hinder free beings from relapſing into diſorder, is to make them feel for a time the fatal conſequences of their error. God owes it to his juſtice to puniſh the guilty, that he may not countenance crimes; and his goodneſs likewiſe requires it, in order to correct and reform the criminal. Natural evil is neceſſary to cure moral evil; ſuffering is the only remedy for ſin. All will

ſuffer

ſuffer more or leſs in proportion as they are more or leſs gone aſtray: Thoſe who have never departed from their duty, will for ever excel the reſt in knowledge and in happineſs; thoſe who delay their return to it, will be always inferior to the other in perfection and felicity. The return of ſpirits to their firſt principle, reſembles the motion of bodies towards their centre; the nearer they approach to it the more their velocity augments, and conſequently thoſe who begin ſooner to return to their infinite centre will for ever outſtrip the reſt in their courſe. This is the order eſtabliſhed by eternal Wiſdom, the immutable law of diſtributive juſtice, from which God cannot deviate, without being eſſentially wanting to himſelf, countenancing rebellion, and expoſing all infinite and fallible beings to the danger of diſturbing univerſal harmony. You ſee in all this the conduct of a God, of a Creator who drew ſpirits out of nothing to make them happy, he puniſhes them that they may return into order, he ſuſpends the exerciſe of his abſolute power, that by the ſecret ſprings of an immutable wiſdom, goodneſs and juſtice, he may make them accompliſh freely his eternal purpoſes.

I comprehend you, ſaid Cyrus, God could not deprive us of liberty without depriving us of intelligence; nor hinder us from being fallible without making us infinite, nor prevent our wandring without deſtroying our liberty, nor diſpenſe us from expiatory pains without violating his juſtice and goodneſs: Exempt from all paſſions, he has neither anger nor revenge, he chaſtiſes only to amend, he puniſhes only to cure, he permits ſin only that he may not violate our liberty, he is tender of that liberty only that he may make us merit, he exacts that merit only to augment our happineſs, he does not employ his almighty power to force us to be happy, becauſe he will give us the eternal pleaſure of contributing to our

our own happineſs by love, and by a love of pure choice; he does good for the love of good, without having any need of our ſervices, without gaining any thing by our virtues, or loſing any thing by our crimes. Such is the glory of the God of the Hebrews, of HIM WHO IS, of the independent and ſelf-ſufficient Being. No philoſopher ever preſented me before with a chain of principles and conſequences, thoughts and ſentiments ſo worthy of the eternal Nature, ſo conſolatory to man, and ſo conformable to reaſon.

This, continued Eleazar, is what even the underſtanding of man can ſuggeſt to render the ways of God intelligible: It is thus that we confound reaſon by reaſon itſelf; it is by theſe principles that our doctors ſilence the philoſophers of the Gentiles, who blaſpheme againſt the ſovereign Wiſdom, becauſe of the evils and crimes which happen here below. But yet our religion does not conſiſt in theſe ſpeculations; it is not ſo much a philoſophical ſyſtem as a ſupernatural eſtabliſhment; Daniel will inſtruct you in it; he is at this time the Prophet of THE MOST HIGH: The Eternal often ſhews him futurity as preſent, and lends him his power to work prodigies; he is ſoon to return to Babylon, he will ſhew you the oracles contained in our ſacred books, and teach you what are the purpoſes for which God intends you. It was in this manner that the Hebrew Philoſopher inſtructed Cyrus, vainly ſtriving to fathom the unſearchable depths of divine wiſdom: What was defective in his opinions, was ſet right by the more ſimple and ſublime inſtructions of Daniel, who came back to Babylon a few days after.

It was the time fixed by the Prophets for the recovery of Nabuchodonoſor, his frenzy ceaſed and his reaſon was reſtored to him. Before he returned to his capital, he reſolved to pay a publick homage to the God of Iſrael in the ſame place where he had given

given the notorious instance of his impiety. He ordered Daniel to assemble the Princes, magistrates, governors of provinces, and all the nobles of Babylon, and to conduct them to the plains of Dura, where he had some years before erected the famous golden statue. Clothed with his imperial robe, he mounted upon an eminence, from whence he might be seen by all the people; he had no longer any thing fierce or savage in his look; notwithstanding the dreadful condition to which his sufferings had reduced him, his countenance had a serene and majestic air: He turned towards the East, took off his diadem, prostrated himself with his face to the earth, and pronounced three times the tremendous name of JEHOVAH! Having adored the ETERNAL for some time in a profound silence, he rose up and said: People of all nations assembled together, it was here that you formerly beheld the extravagant marks of my impious and abominable pride; it was here that I usurped the rights of the Divinity, and would force you to worship the work of mens hands: THE MOST HIGH to punish this excess of irreligion condemned me to eat grass with the beasts for seven whole years; the times are accomplished; I have lifted up my eyes to heaven and acknowledged the power of the God of Israel; my reason and my understanding are restored me. Your God, (continued he, turning towards Daniel) is in truth the GOD OF GODS and KING OF KINGS. All the inhabitants of the earth are before him as nothing, and he does according to his will both in heaven and in earth; his wisdom is equal to his power, and all his ways are full of justice: Those that walk in pride he is able to abase, and he raises again those whom he had humbled: O Princes and people learn to render homage to his greatness! At these words the assembly sent up shouts of joy and filled the air with acclamations in honour of the God of Israel. Nabuchodonosor

chodonosor was conducted back with pomp to his capital and resumed the government of his kingdom: He raised Daniel to the highest dignities, and the Hebrews were honoured with the first posts throughout all the provinces of his empire.

Some days after, Amytis presented Cyrus to Nabuchodonosor, who received the young Prince in a most friendly manner, and gave him a favourable audience: However, the nobles of Babylon, who sat in the King's council, represented in very strong terms, that it might be dangerous to provoke the Median court at the present juncture, when the forces of the kingdom were much lessened and it's treasures exhausted by the late troubles during the King's illness; and that it would be better policy to foment the divisions between the Medes and Persians, in order to make them mutually weaken each other and so give the King of Babylon a fair occasion of extending his conquests. But Nabuchodonosor, who by the misfortunes he had suffered was cured of all such false maxims, did not go into these ambitious projects of his ministers; and Cyrus observing his good dispositions, took that opportunity to lay before him the advantages he might find by an alliance with Cambyses: He made the King sensible that the Medes were the only rivals of his power in the East; that it could not be for his interest to let them grow more considerable, by subjecting and oppressing the Persians; but that he should rather make the latter his friend, who might serve as a barrier to his empire against the enterprizes of the Median Prince; and lastly that Persia lay very convenient for the Babylonian troops to march through it into Media, in case Cyaxares should resolve upon a rupture. The Prince of Persia spoke both in public and private assemblies with so much eloquence and strength of reason; he shewed during the course of his negotiation, which lasted some months, so much candour

candour and truth; he managed the nobles with so much prudence and delicacy, that in the end he brought them all over: An alliance was sworn in a solemn manner, and Nabuchodonosor continued faithful to it the rest of his life.

Cyrus, impatient to see the sacred books of the Hebrews, which contained oracles relating to his future greatness, conversed every day with Daniel; and the Prophet gladly embraced the opportunity to instruct him in the Hebrew religion. He at length opened the books of Isaiah, who had prophesied of Cyrus by name an hundred and fifty years before his birth, and the Prince read there these words: 'Thus 'saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus; whose 'right hand I have holden to subdue nations before 'him, and put Kings to flight; and I will open be-'fore him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall 'not be shut. I will go before thee, I will humble 'the great ones of the earth, I will break in pieces 'the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of 'iron, and I will reveal to thee the hidden treasures, 'and the secret of secrets (a), that thou mayst know 'that I the Lord who have called thee by thy name, 'am the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's 'sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee 'by thy name, I have surnamed thee, though thou 'hast not known me. I am the Lord, and there is 'none else, there is no God besides me.—I form the 'light and create darkness.—I have made the earth 'and created man upon it, I, even my hands, have 'stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I 'commanded. I have raised him up in righteous-'ness, and I will direct all his ways; he shall build 'my city, and he shall let go my captives, not for 'price nor reward, saith the Lord of host.'

Cyrus was struck with awe and reverence as well as astonishment, to see so clear and circumstantial a

(a) *Arcana Secretorum. Isaiah xlv. 3. vulg.*

prediction, a thing unknown in other nations; for there the oracles were always obscure and ambiguous. Eleazar (said he to the Prophet) has already shewn me, that the great principles of your Theology concerning the three states of the world agree with those of other nations. He has removed all my difficulties about the origin of evil, by proving the freedom of intelligent natures: he shuts the mouth of impiety by his sublime ideas concerning the pre-existence of souls, their voluntary fall, and their total restoration: But he has said nothing to me of the super-natural establishment of your law. I conjure you, by the God whom you adore, to answer my questions: Has your tradition the same source with that of other nations? Has it been transmitted to you by a purer channel? Was your Law-giver a mere philosopher, or a divine person?

I know, answered Daniel, the endeavours which our doctors use, to accommodate religion to the taste of the philosophers; but they are all bewildered and lost in a croud of uncertain opinions: Who can find out the ways of God, or penetrate into his secret purposes? Our thoughts are weak, and our conjectures vain; the body, this earthly tabernacle, depresses the soul, and will not suffer it to reach those heights to which it fondly aspires. It is certain that God has permitted evil only that he might draw from it an infinite good; but how he will accomplish his purpose is a secret hidden from the eyes of mortals. All the systems that can be imagined are either dangerous or defective. The curiosity of seeing into every thing, explaining every thing, and adjusting it to our imperfect notions, is the most fatal disease of the human mind. The most sublime act of our feeble reason is to keep itself silent before the sovereign Reason; let us leave to God the care of justifying one day the incomprehensible ways of his providence. Our pride and our impatience

will not ſuffer us to wait for this unravelling; we would go before the light, and by ſo doing we loſe the uſe of it. (a) 'Wo unto him that ſtriveth with 'his Maker, unto him who is but clay and a pot-'ſherd of the earth.' Forget therefore all the refin'd ſpeculations of the Philoſophers. I ſhall ſpeak to you a more ſure and ſimple language; I ſhall propoſe nothing to you but ſuch truths as are ſupported by the univerſal tradition of all nations, or elſe palpable facts, of which the eyes, ears and all the ſenſes of men are judges.

The ETERNAL created our firſt parents in a ſtate of innocence, happineſs and immortality, but the ambitious deſire of encreaſing their knowledge, and of being as Gods, carried them to diſobey the orders of THE MOST HIGH: They were driven from their habitation of delights, and their whole race was involved in their puniſhment, as it had been in their crime; thus we were degraded in our origin, and blaſted in our ſource. When mankind diſcontinued to be juſt, they ceaſed to be immortal; ſufferings followed cloſe upon crimes, and men were condemned to a ſtate of pain and miſery, in order to make them aſpire perpetually after a better life. For the firſt ages after the fall, religion was not written; the moral part of it was found in reaſon itſelf, and the myſteries of it were tranſmitted by tradition from the ancients. As men lived then ſeveral ages, it was eaſy to preſerve that tradition in it's purity. But the ſublime knowledge of the firſt men having ſerved only to make them the more criminal, the whole race of mankind, except the family of Noah, was deſtroyed, in order to ſtop the courſe of impiety and the increaſe of vice: The fountains of the great abyſs were broken up, and the waters covered the earth with an univerſal deluge, of which there yet

(a) *Iſaiah xlv.*

are ſome traces in the traditions of all nations, and of which we ſee every day convincing proofs, when we dig into the bowels of the earth. The conſtitution of the world, which had ſuffered by the fall, was impaired anew (b); the juices of the earth were impoveriſhed and ſpoilt by this inundation; the herbs and fruits had no longer the ſame virtue; the air loaded with an exceſſive moiſture ſtrengthned the principles of corruption, and the life of man was ſhortned. The deſcendants of Noah, who ſpread themſelves over the face of the whole earth, quickly forgot this terrible effect of the divine indignation; they corrupted their ways, and gave themſelves up to all wickedneſs. It was then that the ETERNAL reſolved to chooſe a peculiar people to be the depoſitary of religion, morality and all divine truths, that they might not be debaſed and entirely obſcured by the imagination, paſſions and vain reaſonings of men. The ſovereign Wiſdom choſe the moſt ſtupid and untractable people to be guardian of his oracles: The Aſſyrians, Chaldeans and Egyptians, who were eminent for ſubtility of underſtanding and a ſuperior ſkill in all the ſciences, might have been ſuſpected of having mixed their own notions and reaſonings with the divine revelations; but the Hebrews, among whom you have found the ſublimeſt ideas of the Divinity and of morality, have nothing in their natural genius which can make them ſuſpected of having invented theſe truths. Abraham, by his faith and obedience, was found worthy to be the head and the father of this happy people. THE MOST HIGH promiſed him, that his poſterity ſhould be multiplied as the ſtars of heaven, that they ſhould one day poſſeſs the land of Canaan, and that of his ſeed ſhould come the DESIRE OF NATIONS in the fulneſs of time. The riſing family of this Pa-

(b) *See M. de Meaux univerſal hiſtory.*

triarch,

triarch, feeble in it's beginnings, went down to Egypt, where they became very numerous, awakened the jealouſy of the Egyptians, and were reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery; but having been tried and purified by all ſorts of afflictions for the ſpace of four hundred years, God raiſed up Moſes to deliver them.

THE MOST HIGH, having firſt inſpired our deliverer with the pureſt wiſdom, lent him his almighty power to prove his divine miſſion by the moſt ſignal wonders; theſe wonders were nothing leſs than a frequent and inſtantaneous changing of the order and courſe of nature. The haughty King of Egypt refuſed to obey the orders of the ALMIGHTY. Moſes terrified his court with repeated ſigns of the vengeance of Heaven: He ſtretched out his arm, and the whole kingdom felt it's dreadful power; rivers were turned into blood; ſwarms of venomous inſects ſpread every where diſeaſes and death; prodigious lightnings with ſtorms of hail deſtroyed men, beaſts and plants; a thick darkneſs hid for three days all the luminaries of heaven; and an exterminating angel deſtroyed in one night all the firſt-born of Egypt. At length the people of God left the land of their captivity, and Pharaoh purſued them with a formidable army. A pillar of fire was their guide by night, and a thick cloud by day concealed their march from the purſuers. Moſes ſpake, the ſea divided, the Iſraelites went through it on dry ground, and were no ſooner paſſed than the ſea returned to it's ſtrength, and it's impetuous waves ſwallowed up the infidel nation. Our fathers wandered in the deſert, where they ſuffered hunger, thirſt and the inclemency of the ſeaſons: They murmured againſt God: Moſes ſpake again, a miraculous flood deſcended from heaven; dry rocks became fountains of living water; the earth opened and ſwallowed up thoſe who refuſed to believe the promiſes, unleſs they might ſee their accompliſhment. It was in this deſert that

God himſelf publiſhed his holy law, and dictated all the rites and ſtatutes of our religion. He called up our conductor to the top of mount Sinai; the mountain trembled, and the voice of the ETERNAL was heard in thunders and lightnings: He diſplayed his dreadful power to make an impreſſion upon hearts more diſpoſed to be affected by fear than love. But the GOD appeared no leſs in the wonders of his goodneſs, than in thoſe of his power. The high and lofty one, who inhabits eternity, and whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, condeſcended to dwell in a viſible manner amongſt the children of Iſrael, and to direct them in all their ways. A moveable ſanctuary, with the ark of the covenant, was formed and erected by his order, and the altar was ſanctified by the preſence of the glory of THE MOST HIGH. The rays of a heavenly light encompaſſed the tabernacle; and God ſitting between the Cherubim from thence declared his will. Moſes by the command of God himſelf committed to writing our law and our hiſtory, the everlaſting proofs of his ſupreme goodneſs, and of our ingratitude; a little before his death he put this book into the hands of all the people; it was neceſſary at every inſtant to conſult it, in order to know not only the religious but civil laws; each Hebrew is obliged to read it over once a year, and to tranſcribe the whole at leaſt once in his life. It was impoſſible to alter or corrupt theſe ſacred annals, without the impoſture's being diſcovered and puniſhed as high treaſon againſt God, and an attempt againſt the civil authority.

Moſes died; our fathers left the deſert; nature was obedient to the voice of Joſhua, their new conductor; rivers ran back to their fountain head; the ſun ſtood ſtill; the walls of a ſtrong city fell down at the approach of the ark; and the moſt couragious and warlike nations fled before the triumphant armies

armies of Israel, who at length took possession of the promised land. Miracles however do not change the heart, even when they convince the understanding. The strongest conviction is too weak to control the violence of the passions. Scarce was this ungrateful and inconstant people settled in that land of delights, but they grew weary of being under the immediate government of JEHOVAH, and were desirous of having a King to go before them like other nations. God gave them a King in his anger, and the Hebrew government became monarchical. Solomon, the wisest and most pacific of our Princes, erected a magnificent temple at Jerusalem. The God of peace fixed his habitation upon mount Sion; the miracle of the ark was perpetuated, the glory of the divine Majesty filled the sanctuary, and oracles were given from the most holy place as often as the High Priest went thither to enquire of the Lord. In order to perpetuate the memory of so many miracles, and to demonstrate the truth of them to all future ages, Moses, Joshua, our Judges and our Kings established solemn festivals and august ceremonies: A numerous nation incredulous and rebellious, their Kings, their Priests, their tribes which were often divided among themselves, concurred loudly, universally and successively to give testimony to those miracles by lasting monuments perpetuated from generation to generation. While the Israelites persevered in their obedience THE LORD OF HOSTS was their protector, and rendered them invincible as he had promised; but as soon as they departed from the law of their God he gave them up a prey to their fierce enemies; nevertheless he chastised them like a father, and did not utterly forsake them. In every age he raised up prophets to threaten, instruct and reform them. These sages being separated from all terrestrial pleasures united themselves to the sovereign truth; the

eyes of the ſoul, which have been ſhut ſince the origin of evil, were opened in theſe divine men to look into the counſels of Providence, and to know it's ſecrets. The heavy judgments of God fell often upon the ſtubborn and untractable Hebrews, and as often this choſen people was brought back by the prophets to own and adore the God of their fathers. At length they were wholly carried away by that wretched inclination in all mortals to corporalize the Deity, and to form to themſelves a God with paſſions like their own. The God of Abraham, faithful in his threatnings as in his promiſes, has humbled us for many years under the yoke of Nabuchodonoſor; Jeruſalem is become deſolate, and the holy temple an heap of ſtones; vagabonds and captives in a ſtrange land, we wander upon the banks of the Euphrates, and ſilently mourn when we remember Sion. But God having firſt raiſed up that proud conqueror to accompliſh his eternal purpoſes, then abaſed him in his anger. You have been witneſs both of his puniſhment and of his deliverance; nevertheleſs the meaſure of the divine judgments upon the race of Abraham is not yet filled up; it is you, O Cyrus, who are ordained by THE MOST HIGH to be their deliverer; Jeruſalem will be repeopled, the houſe of the Lord rebuilt, and the glory of the latter temple, which will one day be honoured with the preſence of the Meſſiah, ſhall be greater than the glory of the former.

But what, ſaid Cyrus, is the deſign of this law, dictated by God himſelf with ſo much pomp, preſerved by your fore-fathers with ſo much care, renewed and confirmed by your prophets with ſo many miracles? In what does it differ from the religion of other nations? The deſign of the law and the prophets, replied Daniel, is to ſhew, that all creatures were pure in their original; that all men are at preſent born diſtempered, corrupt and ignorant

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even to the degree of not knowing their diſeaſe, and that human nature will one day be reſtored to it's perfection. The miracles and prodigies, of which I have made you a recital, are, ſo to ſpeak, but the play of wiſdom to lead men into themſelves, and make them attend to thoſe three truths which they will find written in their own hearts, upon all nature, and in the whole plan of Providence. The law of Moſes is but an unfolding of the law of nature; all it's moral precepts are but means more or leſs remote, to carry us to what may ſtrengthen divine love in us, or to preſerve us from what may weaken it. The burnt-offerings, the purifications, the abſtinences, all the ceremonies of our worſhip are but ſymbols to repreſent the ſacrifice of the paſſions, and to ſhadow out the virtues neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh us in our primitive purity; thoſe who ſtop at the letter find expreſſions in our ſacred books that ſeem to humanize the Deity, promiſes that don't appear to have any relation to immortality, and ceremonies which they think unworthy of the ſovereign Reaſon: But the true ſage penetrates into their hidden meaning, and diſcovers myſteries in them of the higheſt wiſdom. The foundation of the whole law, and of all the prophecies is the doctrine of a nature pure in it's original, corrupted by ſin, and to be one day reſtored. Theſe three fundamental truths are repreſented in our hiſtory under various images. The bondage of the Iſraelites in Egypt, their journey through the deſert and their arrival in the promiſed land, repreſent to us the fall of ſouls, their ſufferings in this mortal life, and their return to their heavenly country. The hidden meaning does not deſtroy the literal ſenſe, nor does the letter of the law exclude allegory; it is equally profane to deny the one, or to deſpiſe the other. Theſe three principles, the traces of which are to be found in all religions, have been

tranſmitted from age to age from the deluge to our time; Noah taught them to his children, whoſe poſterity ſpread them afterwards over all the earth; but in paſſing from mouth to mouth they have been altered and obſcured by the imagination of the poets, the ſuperſtition of the prieſts, and the different genius of each nation. We find more remarkable footſteps of them among the Orientals and Egyptians than any where elſe; becauſe Abraham (a), our firſt patriarch, who was famous in Aſia, renewed them here, and becauſe the people of God were a long time in captivity on the banks of the Nile: But theſe ancient truths have been no where preſerved in their perfect purity, except in the oracles written by our law-giver, our hiſtorians and our prophets.

But this is not all; there is a myſtery which is no where unfolded but in our religion, and of which I would not ſpeak to you, O Cyrus, if you were not the anointed of THE MOST HIGH, and his ſervant choſen for the deliverance of his people. The prophecies mention two advents of the Meſſiah, one in ſuffering, the other in glory. The GREAT EMANUEL will, many ages before his triumphant appearance in the clouds, live here upon earth in a ſtate of humiliation: He will expiate ſin by the ſacrifice of himſelf before he reſtores the univerſe to it's primitive ſplendor. The ancient tradition from Noah concerning this grand ſacrifice was what ſuggeſted to all nations the firſt thought of offering victims to THE MOST HIGH as types of that perfect holocauſt: Your prieſts having loſt theſe primitive ideas fooliſhly imagined that the friendſhip of the immortals was to be gained by ſhedding the blood of beaſts; but what relation is there between

(a) *See Joſ. Ant. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7, & 8. *Eupolem. apud Euſeb.* & *Voſſ. de Philoſoph. ſectis, cap.* 1. *p.* 3.

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the divine goodneſs and cruel immolation of harmleſs animals? Without our traditions about the great Emanuel, the original of your ſacrifices is a perfect ænigma.

Here Cyrus interrupted Daniel and ſaid: Who is this great Emanuel of whom you ſpeak? Is he the ſame with him whom the Perſians call Mythras, the Egyptians Orus, the Tyrians Adonis, the Greeks Jupiter the Conductor, Apollo and Hercules? What is his origin and what is his nature? The GREAT EMANUEL, anſwered the Prophet, is he who is called the DESIRE OF NATIONS; he has been known to them by an ancient tradition, the ſcource of which they are ignorant of, and which they have degraded by their fabulous names and impure images. The great Emanuel is not, as ſome of your philoſophers ſay, a ſubordinate God, but equal in glory to the great Jehovah: He is not a Demi-God, but poſſeſſes in himſelf all the fulneſs of the Godhead: He is not a free production of the power of THE MOST HIGH, but a neceſſary emanation from his ſubſtance. All other beings, how exalted ſoever, whether Angels or Archangels, Seraphim or Cherubim were drawn out of nothing and may return to nothing again; but He is a pure ſtream flowing from the Glory of the Almighty, the brightneſs of the everlaſting light, the unſpotted mirror of the majeſty of God, and the expreſs image of his goodneſs: He is of the ſame eſſence, he has the ſame attributes, but who can declare his generation? Let us not raſhly pry into thoſe impenetrable ſecrets; it is ſufficient to know, that THE DESIRE OF NATIONS will appear upon earth to bear our griefs, that he will be wounded for our tranſgreſſions and bruiſed for our iniquities.

But what neceſſity is there, cried out Cyrus, for this great ſacrifice? Has God any need of a bloody victim to appeaſe his wrath? Can the infinite

Goodneſs require ſuch a cruel holocauſt? Beware of falling into the ſame error with which you reproach our prieſts. God has no need, replied Daniel, of an inhuman ſacrifice to pacify his vengeance, but he would countenance the rebellion of ſpirits and contradict himſelf ſhould he pardon the criminal without ſhewing his abhorrence of the crime, and diſplay the whole extent of his goodneſs without aſſerting the prerogatives of his holineſs. The divine Emanuel will leave the boſom of his Father, and remain long upon earth exiled from his preſence; the living image of the majeſty of God will take on him the form of a ſervant; the eternal WORD will become a mute babe, a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief; the brightneſs of the uncreated light will ſuffer an eclipſe that will terrify the Seraphim and Cherubim; he will ſhew by his annihilation the homage that is due to the ETERNAL; by his humiliation the injuſtice of our pride; by his ſufferings the neceſſity of our expiatory pains; and laſtly, by his agony and the inexpreſſible anguiſh which our iniquities will cauſe him, the infinite averſion of THE MOST HIGH to the violation of order. 'Tis by this means that he will reconcile the juſtice of God with his mercy, repair the wrong done to his laws, and be at the ſame time both a ſacrifice for ſin and a model of all virtue. The hiſtory of his conflicts and triumphs will be for ever recorded in the regiſters of heaven, and give eternal teſtimony to the divine Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Juſtice. I ſee from far that day which will be the conſolation of the juſt and the joy of angels: All the heavenly powers will be preſent at this myſtery, and adore it's depth; mortals will ſee nothing but the ſhell and the outſide. Thoſe Hebrews who expect only a triumphant Meſſiah will not comprehend this firſt advent; the pretenders to wiſdom in all nations, who judge only by appearances, will

blaſpheme

blaſpheme againſt what they underſtand not: Nay, the moſt juſt among men will in this life ſee only as in a myſtery the beauty, extent and neceſſity of that great ſacrifice.

The Prince of Perſia was ſtruck by this diſcourſe and wavered in his thoughts; he perceived that all the diſcoveries made by Zoroaſter, Hermes, Orpheus and Pythagoras were but imperfect traces and chance rays of the tradition from Noah: In Perſia, Egypt, Greece and in all other nations he had found only obſcure, uncertain and looſe opinions; but with the Hebrews he had found books, prophecies and miracles, the authority of which was inconteſtible. Nevertheleſs, he ſaw the truth only as through a cloud, his heart was not yet touched; he waited for the accompliſhment of Iſaiah's prediction. Daniel was not ignorant of the fluctuation of his mind, and ſaid to him: O Cyrus, religion is not a ſyſtem of philoſophical opinions, nor yet a hiſtory of miracles, or ſupernatural events, but a ſcience that dilates the heart and fills it with godlike ſentiments, a ſcience which God reveals only to pure minds; to know the ſecrets of religion, to feel it's energy, a ſuperior power to man muſt deſcend into you, become abſolute maſter of you, and raviſh you from yourſelf: Your heart will then feel thoſe truths which your underſtanding has now but a ſmall glimpſe of. The time for this is not yet come, but it approaches (b); until that happy moment, be content with knowing that the God of Iſrael loves you, will go before you, and will accompliſh his will by you: This accompliſhment will be an invincible proof of the truth of all I have ſaid to you. Make haſte to verify his oracles, and return with ſpeed into Perſia, where your preſence is neceſſary.

(b) *Vid. Theodoret de fide.*

The young hero ſoon after left Babylon; the year following Nabuchodonoſor died, and his ſucceſſors broke the alliance ſworn between the Aſſyrians and Perſians. Cyrus ſpent twenty whole years in war with the Aſſyrians and their allies: The ſeveral nations of the Eaſt obſerving his moderation in the midſt of triumphs, willingly ſubmitted to his empire, and the conqueſts made by his humanity were more numerous than thoſe of his ſword. Being ever as generous as invincible, he made no other uſe of victory than to render the vanquiſhed happy, and employed his power only to make juſtice flouriſh and to eſtabliſh and maintain the moſt excellent laws. The taking of Babylon made him maſter of all the Eaſt from the river Indus to Greece, and from the Caſpian ſea to the extremities of Egypt. Seeing then the entire accompliſhment of Iſaiah's prediction, his heart became affected with the truths he had learned from Daniel; the miſt before his eyes was totally diſpelled, he openly avowed the God of Iſrael, and releaſed the Hebrews from their captivity by this ſolemn edict, which was publiſhed throughout the whole extent of his vaſt dominions. THUS SAITH CYRUS, KING OF PERSIA. THE LORD GOD OF HEAVEN HATH GIVEN ME ALL THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH, AND HE HATH CHARGED ME TO BUILD HIM A HOUSE AT JERUSALEM WHICH IS IN JUDAH. WHOEVER AMONG YOU IS OF HIS PEOPLE, HIS GOD BE WITH HIM: AND LET HIM GO UP TO JERUSALEM AND BUILD THE HOUSE OF THE LORD GOD OF ISRAEL, HE IS THE GOD.

A DIS-

A DISCOURSE

UPON THE

THEOLOGY and MYTHOLOGY

Of the PAGANS.

MY first design was to insert some critical notes in the margin of the foregoing book; but as the attending to such remarks would have diverted the reader's mind too much from the principal subject, I thought it better to digest them into the form of a discourse, which I divide into two parts. In the first I shall shew, that the most celebrated Philosophers of all ages and all countries have had the notion of a supreme Deity, who produced the world by his Power, and governs it by his Wisdom. From the second it will appear, that there are traces of the principal doctrines of revealed religion, with regard to the three states of the world, to be found in the Mythology of all nations.

PART I.

Of the THEOLOGY *of the* PAGANS.

TO begin with the Magi or Persian Philosophers; According to the testimony of Herodotus (a), the ancient Persians had neither statues, nor

(a) *Herod. Clio, lib.* 1. *p.* 56. *Sect.* 131. *Edit. Francof.* 1608.

temples, nor altars: 'They think it ridiculous (says 'this author) to fancy, like the Greeks, that the 'Gods have an human shape, or derive their ori- 'ginal from men. They choose the highest moun- 'tains for the place of their sacrifice: They use 'neither libations, nor musick, nor hallowed bread; 'but when any one has a mind to sacrifice, he 'leads the victim into a clean place, and wearing 'a wreath of myrtle about his Tiara, invokes the 'God to whom he intends to offer it. The priest 'is not allowed to pray for his own private good, 'but for that of the nation in general; each par- 'ticular member finding his benefit in the prosperity 'of the whole.

Strabo (b) gives the same account of the ancient Persians. 'They neither erected statues nor altars, 'says this historian; they sacrificed in a clean place 'and upon an eminence, where they offered up 'a victim crowned. When the priest had cut it 'into small pieces, every one took his share. They 'left no portion of it for the Deities, saying, that 'God desires nothing but the soul of the victim.' The Orientals, full of the notion of transmigration, imagined, that the victim was animated by a criminal soul, whose expiatory pains were completed by the sacrifice.

The Persians indeed, as well as other Pagans, worshiped the fire, the sun, and the stars: But we shall see that they considered them only as visible images and symbols of a supreme God, whom they believed to be the sovereign Lord of nature. Plutarch has left us, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, a fragment of the Theology of the Magi. This philosophical historian assures us, that they called the great God, Oromazes, or the Principle of light, that produced every thing, and worketh all in

(b) *Strabo lib.* 15. *p.* 732. *Edit. Paris.* 1620.

all (c).

all (c). They admitted however another God, but of an inferior nature and order, whom they called (d) Mythras or the Middle God. They ſpeak of him ſometimes as a Being co-eternal with the ſupreme Divinity, and at other times as the firſt production of his power (e).

The fineſt definition we have of the Deity among all the writings of the ancients, is that of Zoroaſter. It has been tranſmitted down to us by Euſebius in his *Præparatio Evangelica:* an author ſo far from being over favourable to the Pagans, that he makes it his buſineſs continually to expoſe and degrade their philoſophy. And yet he ſays, that he had read theſe expreſs words in a book of Zoroaſter that was extant in his time, and known by the title of, The ſacred collection of Perſian monuments.

'(f) God is the firſt of all incorruptible Beings, e-
'ternal and unbegotten: He is not compounded
'of parts: There is nothing equal to him, or like
'him. He is the author of all good, and entirely
'diſintereſted; the moſt excellent of all excellent
'beings, and the wiſeſt of all intelligent natures;
'the father of equity, the parent of good laws,
'ſelf-inſtructed, ſelf-ſufficient, and the firſt former
'of nature.'

The modern writers among the Arabians and Perſians, who have preſerved to us what remains of the ancient doctrine of Zoroaſter among the Guebri or worſhippers of fire, maintain, that the firſt Magi admitted only one eternal Principle of all things. Abulfeda, cited by the famous Dr. Pocock, ſays, that according to the primitive doctrine of the Perſians (g), 'God was prior to both light and dark-

(c) *Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. Edit. Paris.* 1624, *p.* 370.
(d) Μεσίτης Θεός.
(e) *See Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem, p.* 288.
(f) *Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib.* 1. *p.* 42. *Edit. Paris.*
(g) *Pocock Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p.* 146.

'neſs,

'neſs, and had exiſted from all eternity in an adora-
'ble ſolitude, without any companion or rival.'
Sariſthani, quoted by Dr. Hyde, ſays, 'That the
'firſt Magi (b) did not look upon the good and evil
'principles as co-eternal; they thought that light
'was indeed eternal, but that darkneſs was pro-
'duced in time by the diſloyalty of Ahriman, chief
'of the Genii.'

M. Bayle affirms in his dictionary, that the ancient Perſians were all Manicheans; but however he came to entertain this notion, he muſt certainly have given it up, if he had conſulted the original authors: a method which that famous critick did not always take. He had a genius capable of going to the bottom of any ſubject whatever; but he wrote ſometimes in a hurry, and treated ſuperficially the graveſt and moſt important ſubjects. Beſides, there is no clearing him from the charge of loving too much the diſmal obſcurity of ſcepticiſm; he is ever upon his guard againſt all ſatisfactory ideas in religion; he ſhews with art and ſubtlety all the dark ſides of a queſtion, but he very rarely repreſents it in that point of light which ſhines with evidence. What encomiums would he not have merited, had he employed his admirable talents more for the benefit of mankind?

Such was the Theology of the ancient Perſians, which in the foregoing work I have put in the mouth of Zoroaſter; and the Egyptians had much the ſame principles. There is nothing more abſurd than the notion generally given us of their Theology; nor is any thing more improbable than the allegorical ſenſe which certain authors fancy they have diſcovered in their hieroglyphicks. On one hand, it is hard to believe that human nature could

(b) *Hyde Relig. Ant. Perſar. cap.* 9. *pag.* 161. & *cap.* 22. *p.* 290.

ever

ever ſink ſo low as to adore inſects, reptiles and plants (which they ſee produced, growing and dying every day) without aſcribing certain divine vertues to them, or conſidering them as ſymbols of ſome inviſible Power. In the moſt barbarous countries we ſtill find ſome knowledge of a ſuperior Being, which is the object of the hope and fear of the moſt ſtupid ſavages. But though we ſhould ſuppoſe there are ſome nations in the world ſunk into ſo groſs an ignorance as to have no notion of a Deity, yet it is certain that Egypt cannot be charged with ſuch a degree of ſtupidity. All hiſtorians, as well ſacred as profane, agree in ſpeaking of this people as the wiſeſt of all nations; and one of the encomiums that the holy Spirit gives to Moſes, is, that he was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians. Would the Holy Ghoſt ever have ſpoken in ſuch a manner of a nation ſo ſenſeleſs as to worſhip onions, crocodiles, and the moſt deſpicable reptiles? On the other hand, there are certain modern writers who exalt the Theology of the Egyptians too high, and fancy that they find in their hieroglyphicks all the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion. After the deluge, Noah doubtleſs would not leave his children ignorant of the great principles of religion, with regard to the three ſtates of mankind; and that tradition might have been ſpread from generation to generation over all the nations of the world: But we ſhould not infer from thence, that the Heathens had as clear notions of the divine Nature and the Meſſias, as the Jews had themſelves. Such a ſuppoſition, far from doing honour to Holy Writ, would only derogate from it's dignity. I ſhall endeavour to keep the juſt medium between theſe two extremes.

Plutarch, in his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſiris, tells us (i)

(i) *Plut. de Iſid. & Oſir. p.* 354.

that

that the Theology of the Egyptians had two meanings; the one holy and symbolical, the other vulgar and literal; and consequently that the figures of animals which they had in their temples, and which they seemed to adore, were only so many hieroglyphicks to represent the divine attributes. Pursuant to this distinction, he says, that Osiris signifies the active Principle, or the most holy Being (k); Isis the Wisdom or Rule of his operation; Orus the first production of his Power, the model or plan by which he produced every thing, or the archetype of the world. We shall see hereafter whether it be reasonable to think, that the Pagans had ever any knowledge of a trinity of distinct persons in the indivisible unity of the divine Nature. Thus much at least is plain, that the Chaldeans and Egyptians believed all the attributes of the Deity might be reduced to three, Power, Understanding and Love. In reality, whenever we disengage ourselves from matter, impose silence on the senses and imagination, and raise our thoughts to the contemplation of the infinitely infinite Being, we find that the eternal Essence presents itself to our mind under the three forms of Power, Wisdom and Goodness. These three attributes comprehend the totality of his nature, and whatever we can conceive of him. Not to speak therefore of the primitive traditions, which might possibly be the source of these three ideas concerning the divine Nature, it is nothing extraordinary, if the Egyptians and Orientals, who had very refining metaphysical heads, should of themselves have discovered them. The Greeks and Romans were fonder of the sciences which depend on sense and imagination; and for this reason we find their Mythology seldom turns upon any thing but the external operations of the Deity in the pro-

(k) *Ibid. p.* 373, 374, 375.

ductions,

ductions of nature, whereas that of the former chiefly regards his internal operations and attributes.

By the help of these principles the Theology of the Pagans may be reduced to three principal Divinities, without doing violence to original authors, and without racking one's brain to digest their ideas, which are often very confused, into an intelligible system. They universally acknowledged one supreme God, whom they considered as the source of the Divinity, and the author of all beings; a Goddess his wife, daughter, or sister, whom they represented sometimes as the principle of the divine Fecundity, at other times as an emanation from his Wisdom, and often as the companion and subject of his operations; and lastly, a subordinate God, the son and viceroy of the Supreme. And thus we find among the Persians the great Oromazes, the Goddess Mythra, and the God Mythras; among the Egyptians Osiris, Isis and Orus; among the Greeks Jupiter, Minerva and Apollo.

In proportion as men departed from their primitive simplicity, and as imagination took the place of reason, the Poets multiplied the names and images of these Gods, and the three superior Divinities were lost in a crowd of inferior Deities. It is nevertheless certain, that the (1) Philosophers always preserved those three capital ideas. Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, Porphyry, Jamblichus, Plutarch, Macrobius, and all the philosophical writers whose works have been transmitted to us, and who speak of the Gods of Egypt and Greece, assure us that Ptha, Amoun, Osiris, Apis, Serapis and Anubis are the same; that Mars, Mercury, Apollo, Hercules, and Jupiter the Conductor, are also the same; that

(1) *See Huet. Dem. Evang. Jambl. de Myst. Egypt. p.* 150. *Plut. Isis and Osir. p.* 327. *Macrob. lib.* 1. *Saturn. Cudw. Intell. System, from page* 484 *to* 494.

Cybele,

Cybele, Venus Urania, Juno, Minerva, Phebe and Proſerpine are in like manner one and the ſame. Whence we may fairly conclude, without falling into chimerical conjectures, that Oromazes, Oſiris, Cœlus, Saturn and Jupiter Olympius are different names to expreſs the one ſupreme God; that Mythra, Iſis, Cybele, Urania, Juno and Minerva denote the different attributes of the ſame Goddeſs; and laſtly, that Mythras, Orus, Mercury, Apollo, Hercules, and Jupiter the Conductor, are the ſeveral titles of the middle God, univerſally acknowledged by the Pagans.

I know that the modern Materialiſts have endeavoured to reduce all the Pagan Divinities to one God and one Goddeſs, which, according to them, expreſs only the two principles of nature, whereof one is active, or the infinite force, the cauſe of all the motions we behold in the univerſe; the other paſſive, or the eternal matter, which is the ſubject of all the forms produced by that moving force: This idea is by far poſterior to that of the Orientals, Egyptians and firſt Greeks, concerning the three forms of the Divinity. It was neither received nor known, in the ſenſe of the Materialiſts, but by the diſciples of Epicurus, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

This diſtinction of the Gods into three claſſes, and that of the world into three ſtates, may be of great ſervice to clear up the confuſion of the ancient Mythologies. I will venture to ſay, that neither Scaliger, nor Bochart, nor Grævius, nor Gronovius, nor M. Huet, could ſucceed in this enterpriſe, becauſe they were men of more learning than philoſophy. Grammarians, Criticks, and thoſe perſons of ſtrong memories, who employ themſelves wholly in the ſtudy of words and facts, are rarely remarkable for a nice examination of principles, and are not always capable of entring into the ſenſe of the Philoſophers, or diſtinguiſhing the ſubtilty of their

their ideas. I confeſs indeed, that it is dangerous to be too much attached to ſyſtems, but yet without a ſyſtematical genius it is impoſſible to carry the ſciences to any great perfection.

To return to Plutarch. He concludes his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſiris in this manner (m): 'As he who 'reads the works of Plato may be ſaid to read Plato, 'and he who acts the comedy of Menander may be 'ſaid to act Menander; ſo the ancients gave the 'name of Gods to the various productions of the 'Deity.' Plutarch had ſaid a little before, 'That 'care ſhould be taken not to transform, diſſolve 'and ſcatter the divine Nature into rivers, winds, 'vegetables, or bodily forms and motions. This 'would be as ridiculous as to imagine, that the ſails, 'the cables, the rigging and the anchor are the pi'lot; or that the thread, the woof, and ſhuttle are 'the weaver. Such ſenſeleſs notions are an indig'nity to the heavenly powers, whom they blaſ'pheme whilſt they give the name of Gods to be'ings of an inſenſible, inanimate and corruptible 'nature.' 'Nothing, as he goes on, that is with'out a ſoul, nothing that is material and to be per'ceived by our ſenſes, can be God. Nor yet muſt 'we imagine that there are different Gods, accord'ing to the different countries of Greeks and Bar'barians, Northern and Southern people. As the 'ſun is common to all the world, though called by 'different names in different places; ſo there is but 'one ſole ſupreme Mind or Reaſon, and one and 'the ſame Providence that governs the world, though 'he is worſhiped under different names, and has 'appointed ſome inferior powers for his miniſters.' Such, according to Plutarch, was the doctrine of the firſt Egyptians with regard to the divine Nature.

(m) *Page* 377, *and* 378.

Origen

Origen, who was contemporary with Plutarch, follows the ſame principles in his book againſt Celſus, a Pagan Philoſopher, who pretended to underſtand Chriſtianity, becauſe he underſtood ſome ceremonies of that religion, though he had never entered into the ſpirit of it. Now Origen expreſſes himſelf in this manner: 'The Egyptian Philoſophers have 'ſublime notions with regard to the divine Nature, 'which they keep ſecret, and never diſcover to the 'people but under a vail of fables and allegories. 'Celſus is like a man who has travelled into that 'country; and though he has converſed with none 'but the ignorant vulgar, yet takes it into his head, 'that he underſtands the Egyptian religion. All the 'Eaſtern nations, the Perſians, the Indians, the Syrians conceal ſecret myſteries under their religious 'fables. The wiſe men of all thoſe religions ſee 'into the ſenſe and true meaning of them, whilſt 'the vulgar go no farther than the exterior ſymbol, 'and ſee only the bark that covers them.'

Let us next hear the teſtimony of Jamblicus, who had ſtudied the religion of the Egyptians, and underſtood it throughly. He lived in the beginning of the third century, and was a diſciple of the famous Porphyry. As both St. Clement (o) and St. Cyril of Alexandria (p) aſſure us, there were at that time a great many Egyptian books extant, which have been ſince loſt: Several of theſe were highly reſpected for their antiquity, and aſcribed to Hermes Triſmegiſtus, or one of his firſt diſciples. Jamblichus had read theſe books, which had been tranſlated by the Greeks; and this is the account that he gives of the Theology which they taught. 'According to the Egyptians, 'Eicton, or the firſt God, exiſted in his ſolitary unity 'before all Beings (q). He is the fountain and original

(n) *Orig. contra Celſ. lib.* 1. *p.* 11. (o) *Strom. l.* 6. *p.* 133.
(p) *Contra Julian. lib.* 1. (q) *Jambl. de Myſt. Egyp. Ed. Lugd.* 1552, 153, 154.

of

'of every thing that either has underſtanding or is 'to be underſtood. He is the firſt principle of all 'things, ſelf-ſufficient, incomprehenſible, and the 'father of all eſſences.' Hermes ſays likewiſe, 'That 'this ſupreme God has conſtituted another God, 'called Emeph, to be head over all ſpirits, whether 'ethereal, empyrean, or celeſtial; and that this ſe-'cond God, whom he ſtiles the guide, is a wiſdom 'that transforms and converts into itſelf all ſpiritual 'Beings. He makes nothing ſuperior to this God-'Guide, but only the firſt Intelligent, and firſt In-'telligible, who ought to be adored in ſilence.' He adds, 'That the Spirit which produceth all things 'has different names, according to his different pro-'perties and operations; that he is called in the E-'gyptian language Amoun, as he is wiſe; Ptha, as 'he is the life of all things; and Oſiris, as he is the 'author of all good.' Thus, according to Jamblichus, it is evident that the Egyptians admitted only one Principle, and a middle God, like the Mythras of the Perſians.

The notion of a ſpirit conſtituted by the ſupreme God, to be the head and guide of all ſpirits, is very ancient. The Hebrew Doctors believed that the ſoul of the Meſſias was created from the beginning of the world, and appointed to preſide over all the orders of Intelligences. This opinion was founded on a notion, that finite natures cannot inceſſantly contemplate the brightneſs and glories of the divine Eſſence; and muſt neceſſarily ſometimes turn off their view, and adore the Creator in his works; that at ſuch times there muſt be an Head to lead ſpirits through all the regions of Immenſity, and ſhew them all it's beauties and wonders.

To have a more perfect knowledge of the Theology of the Orientals and Egyptians, it may not be improper to examine that of the Greeks and Romans, which is derived originally from it. The Philoſophers

loſophers of Greece went to ſtudy wiſdom in Aſia and Egypt. Thales, Pythagoras, Plato, drew the beſt of their knowledge from thence. The traces of the oriental tradition are now indeed in a manner worn out; but as there are ſeveral monuments of the Theology of the Greeks ſtill preſerved, we may judge of the maſters by their diſciples.

We muſt however diſtinguiſh between the Gods of the Poets and thoſe of the Philoſophers. Poetry deifies all the various parts of nature, and gives ſpirit to bodies, as well as body to ſpirits: It expreſſes the operations and properties of matter by the actions and paſſions of ſuch inviſible powers, as the Pagans ſuppoſed to be directors of all the motions and events that we ſee in the univerſe. The Poets paſs in a moment from allegory to the literal ſenſe, and from the literal ſenſe to allegory; from real Gods to fabulous Deities; and this occaſions that jumble of their images, that abſurdity in their fictions, and that indecorum in their expreſſions, which are ſo juſtly condemned by the Philoſophers. Notwithſtanding this multiplication of inferior Deities, theſe Poets however acknowledged, that there was but one only ſupreme God. This will appear from the very ancient traditions which we ſtill have of the philoſophy of Orpheus. I am far from thinking that Orpheus was the author of thoſe works which go under his name: I believe with the famous Grotius, that thoſe books were wrote by the Pythagoreans, who profeſſed themſelves diſciples of Orpheus: But whoever were the authors of theſe writings, it is certain that they are older than Herodotus and Plato, and were in great eſteem among the Heathens; ſo that by the fragments of them ſtill preſerved, we may form a judgment of the ancient Theology of the Greeks. I ſhall begin with the abridgment which Timotheus the Coſmographer gives us of the doctrine of Orpheus.

pheus. This abridgment is preſerved in Suidas (r), Cedrenus (s) and Euſebius.

'There is one unknown Being exalted above and 'prior to all beings, the author of all things, even 'of the æther, and of every thing that is below the 'æther: This exalted Being is Life, Light and Wiſ-'dom; which three names expreſs only one and the 'ſame Power, which drew all beings, viſible and 'inviſible, out of nothing.' It appears by this paſſage, that the doctrine of the creation, (or the production of ſubſtances) and that of the three forms of the Divinity were not unknown to the heathen Philoſophers: We ſhall ſoon find them in Plato.

Proclus has tranſmitted down to us this extraordinary paſſage of the Theology of Orpheus (t). 'The 'univerſe was produced by Jupiter, the empyræum, 'the deep Tartarus, the earth, and the ocean, the 'immortal Gods and Goddeſſes; all that is, all that 'has been, and all that ſhall be, was contained ori-'ginally in the fruitful boſom of Jupiter. Jupiter 'is the firſt and the laſt, the beginning and the end. 'All beings derive their origin from him. He is 'the primitive Father and the immortal Virgin. He 'is the Life, the Cauſe, and the Energy of all 'things. There is but one only Power, one only 'God, and one ſole univerſal King of all.' This paſſage ſeems to inſinuate, that the univerſe is a ſubſtantial emanation from the divine Eſſence, and not a mere effect of his Power; however, this groſs error is no proof of Atheiſm in him who maintains it, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

I ſhall conclude the Theology of Orpheus with a famous paſſage of the author of the Argonautica, who is looked upon to be a diſciple of his (u). 'We will 'ſing firſt an hymn upon the ancient chaos; how the

(r) *Suidas de Orph. p.* 350.
(s) *Cedrenus, p.* 47.
(t) *Proclus de Timæo, p.* 95. *Edit. Fugger. An.* 1566.
(u) *Argon. apud Steph. p.* 71.

'heavens,

'heavens, the sea, and the earth were formed out 'of it. We will sing likewise that eternal, wise, 'and self-perfect love, which reduced this chaos in-'to order (w). It is clear enough from the doctrine of the theogony or birth of the Gods, that the ancient Poets ascribed all to a first Being, who disentangled the chaos. And it is for this reason that Ovid thus expresses himself in the first book of his Metamorphoses (x). 'Before there was a sea and an 'earth, before there was any heaven to cover the 'world, universal nature was but one indigested 'sluggish mass, called a chaos. The seeds of all 'things jumbled together were in a perpetual dis-'cord, till a beneficent Deity put an end to the dif-'ference.' Words which shew plainly that the Latin Poet, who followed the Greek tradition, makes a distinction between the chaos, and God, who by his Wisdom brought it out of confusion into order. I ought however in this place to observe, that the Greek and Roman Mythology, in relation to the chaos, is much more imperfect than that of the Orientals and Egyptians, who tell us, that there was an happy and perfect state of the world prior to the chaos: that the good Principle could never produce any thing evil; that his first work could not be confusion and disorder; and in a word, that physical evil is nothing else but a consequence of moral evil. It was the imagination of the Greek Poets that first brought forth the monstrous Manichean doctrine of two co-eternal principles; a supreme Intelligence and a blind matter; light and darkness; an indigested chaos, and a Deity to reduce it into order.

Let any one read Homer and Virgil with a proper attention, and he will see, that notwithstanding the wild flights of their imagination, and the indecent

(w) *Ver.* 423. Πρισβύτατόν τε, καὶ αὐτοτελῆ πολύμητιν Ἔρωτα.
(x) *Ovid. Metam. l.* 1. *p.* 1.

alle-

allegories by which they ſometimes diſhonour the Divine Nature, the marvelous which runs through their fable is founded upon theſe three principles. 1. That there is one ſupreme God, whom they every where call the Father, and the ſovereign Lord of Gods and men, the Architect of the world, the Prince and Governor of the univerſe, the firſt God, and the great God. 2. That univerſal Nature is full of ſubordinate ſpirits, who are the miniſters of that ſupreme God. 3. That good and evil, virtue and vice, knowledge and error, ariſe from the different influence and inſpiration of the good and evil Genii, who dwell in the air, the ſea, the earth, and the heavens.

The tragick and lyrick Poets expreſs themſelves after the ſame manner as the epick Poets. Euripides expreſly acknowledges the dependence of all beings upon one ſole Principle. 'O Father, and King of 'Gods and men! ſays he, why do we miſerable 'mortals fancy that we know any thing, or can do 'any thing? Our fate depends upon thy will (y).'

Sophocles repreſents the Deity to us as a ſovereign Intelligence, which is truth, wiſdom, and the eternal law of all ſpirits (z). 'Tis not, ſays he, to any mortal nature that laws owe their origin; they come from above; they come down from heaven itſelf; Jupiter Olympius is alone the father of them.

Plautus introduceth an inferior Deity ſpeaking in this manner (a): 'I am a citizen of the celeſtial city, 'of which Jupiter, the Father of Gods and men, is 'the head. He commands the nations, and ſends 'us over all kingdoms, to take an account of the 'conduct and actions, the piety and virtue of men. 'In vain do mortals endeavour to bribe him with

(y) *Eurip. Supplic. Act.* 3. *ver.* 734, *&c. Edit. Cant.*
(z) *In Oedip. Tyran.* (a) *Plaut. Rudens.*

'their oblations and sacrifices. They lose their pains, 'for he abhors the worship of the impious.

'O Muse, says Horace, pursuant to the custom 'of our ancestors, celebrate first the great Jove, who 'rules over Gods and men, the earth, the seas, and 'the whole universe: There is nothing greater than 'he, nothing that is like, nothing that is equal to 'him (b)!

I shall conclude my quotations out of the Poets with a surprising passage of Lucan. When Cato, after crossing the deserts of Lybia, arrives at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, Labienus is for persuading him to consult the Oracle. Upon which occasion the Poet puts this answer in the mouth of that philosophical hero, '(c) Why do you, Labienus, pro- 'pose to me to ask the Oracle whether we should 'choose to die in a state of freedom with our swords 'in our hands, rather than see tyranny enslave our 'country? Whether this mortal life be only a re- 'mora to a more lasting one? Whether violence 'can hurt a good man? Whether virtue does not 'make us superior to misfortunes? And whether 'true glory depends upon success? We know these 'things already, and the Oracle cannot give us clearer 'answers than what God makes us feel every mo- 'ment in the bottom of our heart. We are all united 'to the Deity. He has no need of words to convey 'his meaning to us; and he told us at our birth eve- 'ry thing that we have occasion to know. He hath 'not chosen the parched sands of Lybia to bury 'truth in those deserts, that it might be understood 'only by a small number. He makes himself known 'to all the world, he fills all places, the earth, the sea, 'the air, the heavens; he makes his particular abode 'in the soul of the just: Why then should we seek 'him elsewhere?' In the foregoing passage I have

(b) *B. 1. Ode 12.* (c) *Lucan. lib. 9. ver. 565.*

omit-

omitted this expreſſion, *Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides*; not only becauſe in ſome manuſcripts we read *Jupiter eſt quocunque vides*, but alſo becauſe the Poet by the word *quodcunque* confounds the viſible world with the ethereal matter, which the Stoicks and Orientals conſidered as the body of the Divinity: However he repreſents Cato as acknowledging a ſovereign Intelligence, which is all that I would prove.

Let us paſs from the Poets to the Philoſophers, and begin with Thales the Mileſian, chief of the Ionick ſchool (d), who lived above ſix hundred years before the birth of Chriſt. We have none of his works now left; but we have ſome of his maxims, which have been tranſmitted down to us by the moſt venerable writers of antiquity. 'God is the moſt 'ancient of all beings; he is the author of the uni-'verſe, which is full of wonders (e); he is the Mind 'which brought the chaos out of confuſion into 'order (f); he is without beginning and without end-'ing, and nothing is hid from him (g); nothing can 'reſiſt the force of Fate; but this Fate is nothing 'but the immutable reaſon and eternal power of 'Providence (h).' What is ſtill more ſurpriſing in Thales, is his definition of the ſoul: He calls it 'a 'ſelf-moving principle (i), thereby to diſtinguiſh it 'from matter.

Pythagoras (k) is the ſecond great Philoſopher after Thales, and chief of the Italick ſchool. Every body knows the abſtinence, ſilence, retirement and great purity of morals which he required of his diſciples. He was very ſenſible that human underſtanding alone could never attain to the knowledge of divine things,

(d) *Flor. Olymp. L.* (e) *Diog. Laert. vita Thal. lib.* 1.
(f) *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib.* 1. *p.* 1113. *Edit. Amſt.* 1661.
(g) *S. Clem. Alex. Strom. v.* (h) *Stob. Ecl. Phyſ. cap.* 8.
(i) *Plut. de Plat. Phil. lib.* 4. *c.* 2. *Stob. Ecl. Phyſ. cap.* 40.
(k) *Floruit Olymp. LX.*

unleſs the heart was purged of it's paſſions. Now theſe are the notions which he has left us of the Deity. 'God is neither the object of ſenſe, nor ſubject to 'paſſion; but inviſible, purely intelligible, and ſupremely intelligent. In his body he is like the 'light, and in his ſoul he reſembles truth (m). He is 'the univerſal Spirit that pervades and diffuſeth itſelf 'over all nature. All beings receive their life from 'him (n). There is but one only God, who is not, 'as ſome are apt to imagine, ſeated above the world, 'beyond the orb of the Univerſe; but being all in 'himſelf, he ſees all the beings that inhabit his Immenſity. He is the ſole Principle, the Light of 'heaven, the Father of all; he produces every 'thing, he orders and diſpoſes every thing; he is 'the reaſon, the life, and the motion of all beings (o).'

He taught that beſides the firſt Principle, there were three ſorts of intelligent beings, Gods, Heroes and Souls (p). He conſidered the firſt as the unalterable images of the ſovereign Mind, human ſouls as the leaſt perfect of reaſonable ſubſtances, and heroes as a ſort of middle beings placed between the two others, in order to raiſe up ſouls to the divine union (q). Thus he repreſents to us the divine Immenſity as containing innumerable worlds inhabited by ſpirits of different orders. And this is the true ſenſe of that famous expreſſion aſcribed to the Pythagoreans, that Unity was the principle of all things, and that from this Unity there ſprung an infinite duality. We are not by this duality to underſtand the two principles of the Manichees; but as ſome think the ſecond and third forms of the Orphean Trinity and triform Deity, or rather a world of intelligent and corporeal ſubſtances, which is the effect whereof unity is the

(l) *Plut. vita Numæ & Diog. Laert. lib.* 12.
(m) *Vit. Pyth. Porphyr.* (n) *Lact. Inſt. lib.* 5.
(o) *S. Juſt. Cohort.* 1. *ad Græc. p.* 18. (p) *Diog. Laert. lib.* 8.
(p) *Hierocl. Com. in Carm. Aurea Pyth.*

cauſe.

cauſe (n). This is the ſentiment of Porphyry, and it ought to be preferred before that of Plutarch, who is for aſcribing the Manichean ſyſtem to Pythagoras, without producing for it any proof.

Pythagoras agreed with Thales in defining the Soul to be a ſelf-moving Principle (o). He maintained farther, 'That when it quits the body, it is 're-united to the ſoul of the world (p); that it is not 'a God, but the work of an eternal God (q); and 'that it is immortal on account of it's principle (r).' This Philoſopher was of opinion that man was compoſed of three parts (ſ), a pure ſpirit, an ethereal matter, (which he called the ſubtile vehicle of the ſoul) and a mortal or groſs body. The old Greek Poets had dreſſed up this opinion in a different guiſe; they called the ethereal body the repreſentation, the image, or the ſhadow; becauſe they fancied that this ſubtile body, when it came down from heaven to animate the terreſtrial body, aſſumed it's form juſt as melted metal takes that of the mold in which it is caſt. They ſaid, that after death the ſpirit, ſtill clothed with this ſubtile vehicle, flew up to the regions of the moon, where they placed the Elyſian fields. And there, as they imagined, a ſort of ſecond death enſued by the ſeparation of the pure ſpirit from it's vehicle: The one was united to the Gods, the other ſtaid in the abode of the ſhades. This is the reaſon why Ulyſſes ſays in the Odyſſeis, 'That he ſaw in the Elyſian fields the divine Her-'cules, i. e. his image; for as for him, he is with 'the immortal Gods, and aſſiſts at their banquets (t).' Pythagoras did not adopt the poetick fiction of a ſecond death. He held, that the pure ſpirit, and it's ſubtile vehicle being born together, were inſepara-

(o) *Porphyr. vita Pyth.*
(p) *Cicer. de Senec. c. 21.*
(r) *Tuſc. lib. 1. p. 1300.*
(t) *Odyſſ. lib. 11. p. 167.*
(o) *Plut. Plac. l. 4. cap. 2.*
(q) *Ib. de Nat. Deor. l. 2.*
(ſ) Πνεῦμα, Ψυχὴ, Σῶμα.

ble, and returned after death to the ſtar from whence they deſcended. The Platoniſts and almoſt all the ancient Philoſophers had the ſame notion (u). St. Paul, ſpeaking of the reſurrection, ſeems to favour this diſtinction of the celeſtial and the terreſtrial body: 'But ſome man will ſay, how are the dead 'raiſed up? and with what body do they come? 'Thou fool, that which thou ſoweſt is not that 'body which ſhall be, but bare grain.——So alſo 'is the reſurrection of the dead, it is ſown in cor-'ruption, it is raiſed in incorruption; it is ſown 'in diſhonour, it is raiſed in glory; it is ſown in 'weakneſs, it is raiſed in power; it is ſown a na-'tural body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual body——Now 'this I ſay, brethren, becauſe that fleſh and blood 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God (x).' Hence it is, that ſome of the ancient fathers, as well as our modern divines (y), have concluded, that the mortal and terreſtrial body, which is ever changing, and does not continue one moment the ſame, is ſomething merely accidental to our ſubſtance, and does not originally belong to it: a thick cruſt, a coarſe covering caſt over the celeſtial, ſpiritual, active and glorious body, which being unvailed and enlarged at the reſurrection, will appear in all it's beauty; that this immortal ſeed, this incorruptible body, this hidden principle, which is perhaps at preſent the ſeat of the ſoul, will, for reaſons known to God only, remain buried after death in the common maſs of matter till the laſt manifeſtation of the divine Power; and that then the face of the earth will be

(u) *Plot. Enn.* 4. *l.* 3. *& Enn.* 6. *l.* 4. *Philopon. Procem. in Ariſt. de Anim. Procl. Comm. in Tim. p.* 164, 290. *Hierocl. aurea Carm. p.* 293. *Suidas the word* Ἀνγουδῆς. *Cudworth Intellect. Syſt. p.* 79.

(x) 1 *Cor. xv. ver.* 35, 42, 50.

(y) *Dr. Clarke on the Being and Attributes of God, p.* 357, 358, 359.

renewed

renewed by purifying flames, which will purge our globe of all that dark and earthly drofs which it has contracted. And this notion renders the doctrine of the refurrection intelligible and philofophical.

I fhall conclude the article of Pythagoras with a fummary of his doctrine as it is given us by St. Cyril. 'We fee plainly, fays this Father, that Pythagoras 'maintained, that there was but one God, the ori- 'ginal and caufe of all things, who enlightens every 'thing, animates every thing, and from whom 'every thing proceeds, who has given being to all 'things, and is the fource of all motion (z).'

After Pythagoras comes Anaxagoras (a) of the Ionick fect, born at Clazomene, and mafter to Pericles the Athenian hero. This Philofopher was the firft after Thales in the Ionick fchool who perceived the neceffity of introducing a fupreme Intelligence for the formation of the univerfe. He rejected with contempt, and with great ftrength of reafon refuted the doctrine of thofe who held, that (b) a blind neceffity, and the cafual motions of matter had produced the world. He endeavoured to prove, that a pure and uncompounded Spirit prefides over the univerfe.

According to Ariftotle's account, the reafoning of Anaxagoras was founded upon thefe two principles: 1. 'That the idea of matter not including 'that of active force, motion could not be one of 'it's properties. We muft therefore, faid he, feek 'fomewhere elfe to find out the caufe of it's acti- 'vity. Now this active principle, as it was the 'caufe of motion, he called the foul, becaufe it ani- 'mates the univerfe (c). 2. He diftinguifhed between 'this univerfal principle of motion, and the thinking 'principle, which laft he called the underftand-

(z) *S. Cyril. contra Julian. lib.* 1. *p.* 85.
(a) *Flor. Olymp. LXXX.* (b) *Plut. vita Pericl.*
(c) *Ariſt. de anim. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. *p.* 619. *Edit. Pariſ.* 1629.

'ing (d). He saw nothing in matter that had any re-'semblance to this property; and from thence he in-'ferred, that there was in nature another substance 'besides matter. But he added, that the soul and spi-'rit were one and the same substance distinguished by 'us only in regard of it's different operations; and 'that of all essences it was the most simple, the 'most pure, and the most exempt from all mixture 'and composition.' This Philosopher passed at Athens for an Atheist, because he denied that the stars and planets were Gods (e). He maintained, that the first were suns, and the latter habitable worlds; so very ancient is the system of a plurality of worlds, which has been generally thought to be modern.

Plato (f) condemns Anaxagoras for having explained all the phænomena of nature by matter and motion. Descartes has only revived this opinion. I cannot but think it very unjust to accuse the Philosopher of Clazomene, or his follower of Atheism, on this account, since they both lay it down for a principle, that motion is not a property of matter, and consequently, that the moving force is altogether spiritual. It must nevertheless be allowed, that the French Philosopher is blameable in supposing that the visible world is the necessary and unavoidable effect of a mere impulsion given to an indefinite matter. Hence it would follow, 1. That the laws of motion are not arbitrary and dependent on a sovereign Intelligence who acts with wisdom and design; which totally destroys the idea of final causes. 2. That the world, such as we see it, with all it's irregularities, defects and disorders, is precisely in the same state wherein it was at first produced by the Creator: These two principles were the fatal

(d) *Ibid. p.*260. (e) *Plat. de Legib.* 10. *p.* 886.
(f) *Plat. Phæd. p.* 73.

source

ſource of Spinoza's Atheiſm: Believing with Deſcartes, that matter and extenſion are the ſame thing, and that all the different phænomena of nature are the effect of the neceſſary laws of motion, he preſently inferred, that immenſe extenſion and infinite force might be properties of the ſame eternal ſubſtance, which acts by the immutable laws of a blind neceſſity.

The moſt ſublime genius of our age, being ſenſible of theſe monſtrous abuſes of Carteſianiſm, reſolved to undermine the foundations of that philoſophy. He demonſtrated that the primary laws of motion are purely arbitrary, and eſtabliſhed with knowledge and deſign by an intelligent Architect, in order to the preſervation of his work, and the accompliſhment of ſuch ends as are worthy of his wiſdom. It is with great injuſtice that this Philoſopher has been accuſed with throwing us back into the occult qualities of the Peripateticks. I confeſs indeed that the obſcure and confuſed ideas which abound in the writings of ſome of his diſciples, have given too much occaſion to certain foreigners to reject the philoſophy of Sir Iſaac Newton, at the ſame time that they admire his geometry; but it is clear from his (g) firſt writings, that he never conſidered attraction as a cauſe, but only as an effect, and that he always ſuppoſed that this effect might be produced by impulſion (h). Provided we reject the abſolute plenum of the Carteſians, their romantick elements, and their celeſtial vortices which are by no means geometrical, this incomparable Philoſopher (i) admits

(g) *Vis centripeta eſt, qua corpora verſus punctum aliquid tanquam ad centrum undique trahuntur, impelluntur vel utcunque tendunt. Phil. Nat. Princ. p. 2.*

(h) *Quam ego attractionem appello, fieri fane poteſt ut ea efficiatur impulſu, vel alio aliquo modo nobis ignoto. Opt. Ed. Lat. pag.* 380.

(i) *Phil. Nat. Princ. pag. ult. Opt. pag.* 350.

that there may be a ſubtile ſpirit, or ethereal matter diffuſed through all the immenſe ſpaces, to be the univerſal cauſe and ſpring of all the motions of the celeſtial and terreſtrial bodies; of elaſticity, electricity, coheſion, fluidity, vegetation and ſenſation; of the emiſſion, refraction and reflection of light, and even of attraction itſelf, which he looks upon as the immediate cauſe of the moſt part of natural effects; he would not however pretend to explain the laws of this ethereal fluid, for want of a ſufficient number of experiments to prove them. It was an eſſential principle with him, that natural philoſophy ſhould be founded upon experiments, and that theſe ſhould afterwards be applied to geometry, in order to gather from thence ſomething more to be depended upon than ingenious conjectures. His writings diſcover a wonderful ſagacity, penetration and depth, and all the marks of a ſolid underſtanding, which allows nothing to imagination in matters of reaſon; and though Deſcartes muſt be granted to have ſurpaſſed him in perſpicuity and method, he was unqueſtionably neither ſo profound nor ſo geometrical a genius, and gave a greater looſe to imagination.

Socrates (k) follows cloſe after Anaxagoras. The common notion is, that he was a martyr for the Unity of the Godhead, in having refuſed to pay his homage to the Gods of Greece; but it is a miſtake. In the apology that Plato makes for this Philoſopher, Socrates acknowledgeth certain ſubordinate Deities, and teaches, that the ſtars and the ſun are animated by intelligences who ought to be worſhiped with divine honours. The ſame Plato in his dialogue upon holineſs (l) tells us, that Socrates was not puniſhed for denying that there were inferior Gods, but for de-

(k) *Floruit Olym. XC.* (l) *Plat. Eutyph. p. 5, & 6.*

claiming

claiming openly againſt the Poets who aſcribed human paſſions and enormous crimes to thoſe Deities.

Socrates however, whilſt he ſuppoſed ſeveral inferior Gods, admitted all the while but only one eternal principle. Xenophon has left us an excellent abridgment of the Theology of that Philoſopher. 'Tis perhaps the moſt important piece we have of antiquity. It contains the converſation of Socrates with Ariſtodemus, who doubted of the exiſtence of God. Socrates makes him at firſt take notice of all the characters of deſign, of art, of the wiſdom that appear all over the Univerſe, and particularly in the mechaniſm of the human body. '(m) Do you believe, ſays he then to Ariſtodemus, 'can you believe that you are the only intelligent 'being? You know that you poſſeſs but a little par- 'ticle of that matter which compoſes the world, a 'ſmall portion of that water which moiſtens it, a 'ſpark of that flame which animates it. Is under- 'ſtanding peculiar to you alone? Have you ſo en- 'groſſed and confined it to yourſelf, that it is to be 'found no where elſe? Does blind chance work 'every thing, and is there no ſuch thing as wiſdom 'beſides what you have?' Ariſtodemus having replied, that he did not ſee that wiſe Architect of the Univerſe; Socrates anſwers him. 'Neither do 'you ſee the ſoul which governs your own body, 'and regulates all it's motions. You might as well 'conclude, that you do nothing yourſelf with de- 'ſign and reaſon, as maintain that every thing is 'done by blind chance in the Univerſe.' Ariſtodemus at length acknowledging a ſupreme Being, is ſtill in doubt as to Providence; not being able to comprehend how the Deity can ſee every thing at

(m) *Xen. Mem. Soc. Ed. Baſil.* 1579. *lib.* 1. *p.* 573.

once. Socrates replies, 'If the ſpirit that reſides 'in your body moves and diſpoſes it at it's pleaſure, 'why ſhould not that ſovereign Wiſdom which 'preſides over the univerſe, be able likewiſe to re-'gulate and order every thing as it pleaſes? If your 'eye can ſee objects at the diſtance of ſeveral fur-'longs; why ſhould not the eye of God be able to 'ſee every thing at once? If your ſoul can think 'at the ſame time upon what is at Athens, in 'Egypt, and in Sicily; why ſhould not the divine 'Mind be able to take care of every thing, being 'every where preſent to his work?' Socrates perceiving at laſt that the infidelity of Ariſtodemus did not ariſe ſo much from his reaſon as from his heart, concludes with theſe words; 'O Ariſtodemus, ap-'ply yourſelf ſincerely to worſhip God; he will 'enlighten you, and all your doubts will ſoon be 'removed!

Plato, a diſciple of Socrates, follows the ſame principles. He lived about the hundredth Olympaid, at a time when the doctrine of Democritus had made a great progreſs at Athens. The deſign of all his Theology is to give us noble ſentiments of the Deity, to ſhew us that ſouls were condemned to animate mortal bodies, only in order to expiate faults they had committed in a pre-exiſtent ſtate; and in fine, to teach that religion is the only way to reſtore us to our firſt glory and perfection. He deſpiſes all the tenets of the Athenian ſuperſtition, and endeavours to purge religion of them. The chief object of this Philoſopher is man in his immortal capacity: He ſpeaks of him in his politick one, only to ſhew that the ſhorteſt way to immortality is to diſcharge all the duties of civil and ſocial life for the pure love of virtue.

Plato in the beginning of his Timæus diſtinguiſhes between being which is eternally, and being which

which has been made (n). And in another of his dialogues he defines God the efficient cauſe which makes things exiſt that had no being before (o) : A definition which ſhews that he had an idea of creation. Nor is it at all ſurpriſing that he ſhould have this idea, ſince it implies no contradiction. In reality, when God creates, he does not draw a being out of nothing, as out of a ſubject upon which he works ; but he makes ſomething exiſt which did not exiſt before. The idea of infinite power neceſſarily ſuppoſes that of being able to produce new ſubſtances, as well as new forms. To make a ſubſtance exiſt which did not exiſt before, has nothing in it more inconceivable than the making a form exiſt which was not before ; for in both caſes there is a new reality produced ; and whatever difficulties there are in conceiving the paſſage from nothing to being, they are as puzzling in the one as in the other. As therefore it cannot be denied but that there is a moving power, though we do not conceive how it acts ; ſo neither muſt we deny that there is a creating power, becauſe we have not a clear idea of it.

To return to Plato. He firſt conſiders the Deity in his eternal ſolitude before the production of finite beings. He ſays frequently like the Egyptians, ‘ That this firſt ſource of Deity is ſurrounded ‘ with thick darkneſs, which no mortal can pene- ‘ trate, and that this inacceſſible God is to be a- ‘ dored only by ſilence.’ ’Tis this firſt Principle which he calls in ſeveral places the Being, the Unity, and the ſupreme Good (p) ; the ſame in the in-

(n) Τί τὸ ὂν μὲν αἰεὶ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον· καὶ τί τὸ γιγνόμενον μὲν, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε.

(o) Ποιητικὴν πᾶσαν ἔφαμεν εἶναι δύναμιν ἥ τις ἂν αἰτία γίγνηται τοῖς μὴ πρότερον οὖσιν ὕστερον γίγνεσθαι. *Plat. Sophiſt. pag.* 185 .*Ed. Franc.* 1602.

(p) *De Repub. lib.* 6. *p.* 686.

telligent

telligent world, that the ſun is in the viſible world. He afterwards repreſents to us this firſt Being as ſallying out of his Unity to conſider all the various manners by which he might repreſent himſelf exteriorly; and thus the ideal world, comprehending the ideas of all things, and the truths which reſult thence, was formed in the divine Underſtanding. Plato always diſtinguiſhes between the ſupreme Good, and that Wiſdom which is only an emanation from him. 'That which preſents truth to the 'mind, ſays he, and that which gives us reaſon is 'the ſupreme Good. He is the cauſe and ſource 'of truth (q). He hath begotten it like himſelf. As 'the light is not the ſun, but an emanation from 'it; ſo truth is not the firſt Principle, but his ema-'nation.' And this is what he calls the Wiſdom, or the Logos. And laſtly, he conſiders the firſt Mover diſplaying his power to form real beings, reſembling thoſe archetypal ideas. He ſtiles him '(r) The 'Energy, or ſovereign Architect who created the 'univerſe and the Gods, and who does whatſoever 'he pleaſes in heaven, on the earth, and in the 'ſhades below.' He calls him likewiſe, 'Pſyche, 'or the ſoul which preſides over the world, rather 'than the ſoul of the world;' to denote that this ſoul does not make a part of the univerſe, but animates it, and gives it all it's forms and movements. Sometimes he conſiders the three divine attributes as three cauſes, at other times as three beings, and often as three Gods: But he affirms that they are all but one ſole Divinity; that there is no eſſential difference between them; that the ſecond is the image of the firſt, and the third of the ſecond; that

(q) *De Repub. lib.* 6. *p.* 687. Τοῦτον τοίνυν φᾶναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔκγονον ὃν τἀγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον ἑαυτῷ.

(r) *Plat. de Repub. lib.* 10. *p.* 749. Δημιουργὸς *and not* δημιουργούμενον ψυχὴ ὑπερκόσμιος, *and not* ἐγκόσμιος.

they

they are not three ſuns, but one: and that they differ only as the light, it's rays, and the reflection of thoſe rays (ſ).

In other places, and eſpecially in the Timæus Locrus (t), Plato ſpeaks of three other Principles, which he calls, Ἰδέα, Ὕλη, Αἰσθητύς: By the firſt he underſtands the archetypal ideas contained in the divine Intellect: By the ſecond, a primary matter, incorruptible, eternal, uniform, without figure or diviſion, but capable of receiving all forms and motions: By the third, the viſible univerſe, bounded, corruptible, conſiſting of various parts; and this he ſtiles the ſon, the effect and the work of the idea as the primitive father, and of the Ὕλη as the univerſal mother of whatever exiſts. We ought never to confound theſe three principles of nature with the three forms of the Divinity, which he calls Agathos, Logos and Pſyche; the ſovereign Good, which is the principle of Deity, the Intellect which drew the plan of the world, and the Energy which executed it.

Though we ſhould ſuppoſe that Plato conſidered the Logos and the Pſyche, the Intellect and the Energy, not only as two attributes, but as two hypoſtaſes, or emanations from the divine Subſtance, it would not follow that the Chriſtians took their doctrine of the Trinity from him. He might owe this idea to the ancient traditions tranſmitted from the infant world, whence the Orientals, Chaldeans, Egyptians and Greeks originally drew their ſoundeſt notions in Divinity. The philoſophers of all nations ſeem to have had ſome idea, more or leſs confuſed, of a certain Triplicity in the ſupreme Unity (u).

(ſ) *See Cudworth Intellect. Syſt. from p.* 580. *to p.* 590.
(t) *Tim. Loc. p.* 1089.
(u) *Plot. Enn. v. l.* 1. *See Cudworth's Intell. Syſt. from pag.* 570 *to pag.* 630.

Chri-

Chriſtianity has only unfolded this ancient doctrine. It teaches us that in the divine Eſſence there is a triple diſtinction of Father, Son and Holy Spirit; that the actions of the one are not the actions of the other; that the Father exiſts of himſelf, independently, as the primitive ſource of Deity; that the Son comes forth from the Father by an incomprehenſible generation; and the Holy Spirit from both by an inconceivable proceſſion; and laſtly, that theſe two emanations from the Divinity are neceſſary, co-eternal, con-ſubſtantial, infinite, and in all things equal to the Father, his independance only excepted. The church has been pleaſed to expreſs this diſtinction by the word Perſons; to denote that this Trinity is not a mere diviſion of attributes, as the Sabellians hold; nor yet three different ſubſtances, as the Tritheiſts maintain. We have not a ſufficiently clear idea of the eternal Nature to be able to deny, but it may admit of ſuch a diſtinction. As to finite beings, indeed, the only diſtinction we know in them, is that of modes and ſubſtances; but is this a reaſon to deny the poſſibility of another in the infinite Eſſence? Ignorance may be a reaſon for doubting, but never for denying.

In order to ſilence the incredulous, and make this myſtery intelligible to them, a famous (x) Doctor of the Church of England, and, as I am aſſured, the greateſt Philoſopher (y) of modern times, believed that it would do no prejudice to the faith to conſider the three Perſons of the Trinity as three individual Agents, or three diſtinct Beings, though of the ſame ſubſtance. This opinion is as far above Arianiſm, as Arianiſm is above Socinianiſm. Fauſto-Socini maintained, that the Son had never any exiſtence before the incarnation. Arius held, that he was created or produced out of nothing like finite

(x) *Dr. Clarke.* (y) *Sir Iſaac Newton.*

beings,

beings, but yet from all eternity, that is, before all time. The learned Dr. Clarke maintains every where, that the Word is not a creature, but an emanation from the Father, co-eternal and con-ſubſtantial; that this emanation is as eſſential to the Deity as his veracity; that it is not poſſible for the Father to be without the Son, in any other ſenſe than it is poſſible for God to lie (z); and conſequently that the Word is not a precarious being which God may annihilate.

I will not pretend to juſtify any inconſiderate expreſſions which may have dropt from the Doctor; we find ſuch in the Fathers themſelves: But charity, which thinks no evil, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things, will never inſiſt upon the literal import of unguarded words, which are diſavowed. It muſt nevertheleſs be granted that this doctrine, which it aſcribed originally to Sir Iſaac Newton, explains nothing, and only plunges us in new difficulties greater than the firſt. There may eaſily be many diſtinct beings, of the ſame diviſible and finite ſubſtance; but it is impoſſible to conceive three diſtinct beings of the infinite and indiviſible ſubſtance, without deſtroying his nature, and diſcerping the living and true God. Is it not better contentedly to join with all Chriſtian antiquity, in ſaying, that there is a triple diſtinction, real, but incomprehenſible in the Divinity, than to diſturb the peace of the Church with defining the metaphyſical nature of this diſtinction, by ſuch ideas as lead to Tritheiſm, contrary to the intention of thoſe who advance them? How eaſy are the moſt extenſive genius's led aſtray, when they ſhake off the yoke of authority to give themſelves up to their ſpeculations? But to proceed.

(z) *Obſervations on Dr. Waterland's Queries, p.* 75.

Ariſtotle,

Ariſtotle, Plato's diſciple, and prince of the peripatetick Philoſophers, calls God (a) 'The eternal and 'living Being, the moſt noble of all beings, a ſub-'ſtance entirely diſtinct from matter, without exten-'ſion, without diviſion, without parts, and without 'ſucceſſion; who underſtands every thing by one 'ſingle act, and continuing himſelf immoveable, 'gives motion to all things, and enjoys in himſelf a 'perfect happineſs, as knowing and contemplating 'himſelf with infinite pleaſure.' In his metaphyſicks he lays it down for a principle, (b) 'That God is a 'ſupreme Intelligence which acts with order, pro-'portion and deſign; and is the ſource of all that is 'good, excellent and juſt.' In his treatiſe of the ſoul, he ſays, 'That the ſupreme Mind (c) is by it's 'nature prior to all beings, that he has a ſovereign 'dominion over all.' And in other places he ſays, '(d) That the firſt Principle is neither the fire, nor the 'earth, nor the water, nor any thing that is the ob-'ject of ſenſe; but that a ſpiritual Subſtance is the 'cauſe of the univerſe, and the ſource of all the or-'der and all the beauties, as well as of all the mo-'tions and all the forms which we ſo much admire 'in it.' Theſe paſſages ſhew, that though Ariſtotle held matter to be eternal, he nevertheleſs conſidered it as a production of the divine Intellect, and poſterior in nature to it. He ſuppoſed the eternity of this production, becauſe he could not conceive how the divine Mind, being all act, and all energy, could ever be in a ſtate of inactivity. Beſides this firſt and eternal Subſtance, he acknowledges ſeveral other intelligent beings that preſide over the motions of the celeſtial ſpheres. 'There is, ſays he, but one only 'Mover, and ſeveral inferior Deities. (e) All that is

(a) *Ariſt. Ed. Pariſ.* 1629. *Metaph. lib.* xiv. *cap.* 7. *p.* 1000.
(b) *Metaph. lib.* xiv. *cap.* 10. *p.* 1005. (c) *Id. de Anim. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. *p.* 628. (d) *Metaph. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. & 3. *p.* 844, 845. (e) *Met. lib.* xiv. *cap.* 8. *p.* 1003.

'added

'added about the human ſhape of theſe Deities, is 'nothing elſe but fiction, invented on purpoſe to in-'ſtruct the common people, and engage them to an 'obſervance of good laws. All muſt be reduced to 'one only primitive Subſtance, and to ſeveral infe-'rior ſubſtances, which govern in ſubordination to 'the firſt. This is the genuine doctrine of the an-'cients, which has happily eſcaped from the wreck 'of truth, amidſt the rocks of vulgar errors and 'poetick fables.'

Cicero lived in an age when corruption of manners and ſcepticiſm were at their height. The ſect of Epicurus had got the aſcendant at Rome over that of Pythagoras; and ſome of the greateſt men, when they were reaſoning about the divine Nature, thought fit to ſuſpend their judgment, and waver between the two opinions of a ſupreme Intelligence and a blind matter. Cicero, in his treatiſe of the nature of the Gods, pleads the cauſe of the academick philoſophers who doubted of every thing. It is however to be obſerved, that he refutes Epicurus with great force of reaſon in his firſt book, and that the objections which he makes in his third, as an academick, are much weaker than the proofs which he draws from the wonders that appear in nature, which he inſiſts on in his ſecond book, to demonſtrate the exiſtence of a ſupreme Intelligence.

In his other works, and particularly in his book of laws, he deſcribes the univerſe to us (f) 'as a re-'publick, of which Jupiter is the prince and com-'mon father. The great law imprinted in the hearts 'of all men is to love the publick good, and the 'members of the common ſociety as themſelves. 'This love of order is ſupreme juſtice, and this juſ-'tice is amiable for it's own ſake. To love it only 'for the advantages it produces us, may be politick,

(f) *Cic. de Leg. Ed. Amſt.* 1661. *lib.* 1. *p.* 1188,—1191, *&c.*

'but

'but there is little of goodneſs in it. 'Tis the higheſt 'injuſtice to love juſtice only for the ſake of recom-'pence. In a word, the univerſal, immutable and 'eternal law of all intelligent beings, is to promote 'the happineſs of one another like children of the 'ſame father.' He next repreſents God to us as a ſovereign Wiſdom, from whoſe authority it is ſtill more impracticable for intelligent natures to withdraw themſelves than it is for corporeal ones (g). 'According to the opinion of the wiſeſt and greateſt 'men, ſays this Philoſopher, the law is not an in-'vention of human underſtanding, or the arbitrary 'conſtitution of men, but flows from the eternal 'reaſon that governs the univerſe. The rape which 'Tarquin committed upon Lucretia, continues he, 'was not leſs criminal in it's nature, becauſe there 'was not at that time any written law at Rome 'againſt ſuch ſort of violences. The tyrant was 'guilty of a breach of the eternal law, the obliga-'tion whereof did not commence from the time it 'was written, but from the moment it was made. 'Now it's origin is as ancient as the divine Intellect: 'for the true, the primitive, and the ſupreme law 'is nothing elſe but the ſovereign reaſon of the great 'Jove. This law, ſays he in another place (h), is 'univerſal, eternal, immutable. It does not vary 'according to times and places. It is not different 'now from what it was formerly. The ſame im-'mortal law is a rule to all nations, becauſe it has 'no author but the one only God who brought it 'forth and promulged it.' Such were the reaſonings of Cicero when he conſulted natural light, and was not carried away by a fondneſs of ſhewing his wit in defending the doctrine of the Scepticks.

To come at laſt to Seneca the Stoick. He was

(g) *Cic. de leg. lib. 2. p.* 1194. (h) *Frag. of the repub. of Cicero preſerved by Lactantius, lib. vi. c.* 8.

Nero's

Nero's tutor, and lived in an age when Chriſtianity was not in credit enough to engage the heathens to borrow any philoſophical principles from thence. ‘ (i) 'Tis of very little conſequence, ſays he, by what ‘ name you call the firſt Nature, and the divine Rea- ‘ ſon that preſides over the univerſe, and fills all the ‘ parts of it. He is ſtill the ſame God. He is called ‘ Jupiter Stator, not as hiſtorians ſay, becauſe he ‘ ſtopped the Roman armies as they were flying, but ‘ becauſe he is the conſtant ſupport of all beings. ‘ They may call him Fate, becauſe he is the firſt ‘ cauſe on which all others depend. We Stoicks ‘ call him ſometimes Father Bacchus, becauſe he is ‘ the univerſal life that animates nature; Hercules, ‘ becauſe his power is invincible: Mercury, becauſe ‘ he is the eternal Reaſon, Order and Wiſdom. You ‘ may give him as many names as you pleaſe, pro- ‘ vided you allow but one ſole Principle every where ‘ preſent.'

Agreeably to Plato's notions, he conſiders the divine Underſtanding as comprehending in itſelf the model of all things, which he ſtyles the immovable and almighty ideas (k), ‘ Every workman, ſays he, ‘ hath a model by which he forms his work. It ſig- ‘ nifies nothing whether this model exiſts outwardly ‘ and before his eyes, or be formed within him by ‘ the ſtrength of his own genius; ſo God produces ‘ within himſelf that perfect model, which is the ‘ proportion, the order and the beauty of all beings. ‘ (l) The ancients, ſays he in another place, did not ‘ think Jove ſuch a being as we repreſent him in ‘ the capitol, and in our other buildings. But by ‘ Jove they meant the guardian and governor of the ‘ Univerſe, the underſtanding and the mind, the ‘ Maſter and the Architect of this great machine. All ‘ names belong to him. You are not in the wrong

(i) *Senec. Edit. Ant. a Lipſio* 1632. *de Benef. lib. iv. p.* 311.
(k) *Senec. Epiſt.* 65. *p.* 493. (l) *Ibid. Natur. quæſt. lib.* 2. *p.* 715.

‘ if

'if you call him Fate, for he is the cauſe of cauſes, 'and every thing depends on him. Would you call 'him Providence; you fall into no miſtake, it is by 'his wiſdom that this world is governed. Would 'you call him Nature; you will not offend in doing 'ſo, it is from him that all beings derive their origin, 'it is by him that they live and breathe.'

There is no reading the works of Epictetus, of Arian his diſciple, and of Marcus Antoninus without admiration. We find in them rules of morality worthy of Chriſtianity; and yet thoſe diſciples of Zeno believed like their maſter, that there was but one Subſtance, that the ſupreme intelligent Being was material, and that his Eſſence was a pure æther which filled all by local diffuſion; that whatever was not extended was nothing; and in ſhort, that infinite extenſion was the ſame with the divine Immenſity. (m) The Platoniſts repreſented to them, that it was a groſs imagination to ſuppoſe that every thing, which is, exiſts by local diffuſion; that were it ſo, the divine Eſſence would not be equally preſent every where; that there would be more of it in a great ſpace than in a little one; that it is abſurd to conceive that which is nothing but power, wiſdom and goodneſs, under the form of length, breadth and thickneſs; that all other beings exiſt in God, but that he exiſts only in himſelf; that immenſe ſpace is not the divine Immenſity, as time everlaſting is not the divine Eternity; that the Immenſity of God is the manner of his exiſting in himſelf without extenſion of parts, as his Eternity is the manner of his exiſting in himſelf without ſucceſſion of thoughts; that ſpace is but the manner wherein bodies exiſt in him, as time is but the manner in which finite beings exiſt with him; that the one meaſures the bounds of the parts, and the other the variation of

(m) *Plat. Tim. & de leg. lib. x. Ariſt. de anim. lib. 1. cap. 3. Porphyr. p. 230.*

the

the modes; that we ſhould have no idea of local extenſion, if there were no bodies, as we ſhould have no idea of ſucceſſive duration if there were no changes; and laſtly, that indefintie unbounded extenſion is not immenſe in all ſenſes, as it is not infinite in all reſpects: But that God is immenſe in all ſenſes, as he is in all reſpects infinite.

It was thus that the Pagan philoſophers talked of the divine Immenſity before the riſe of ſcholaſtick theology. The obſcurity of our reaſonings on this matter proceeds from our want of a clear idea of ſubſtances: We neither know nor diſtinguiſh them but by their properties; otherwiſe we ſhould ſee that the ſupreme Unity may exiſt every where without extenſion of parts, as he exiſts for ever without ſucceſſion of thoughts; that he is all in all places, as he beholds all beings with one glance. The reaſon of our not having a clear idea of the divine Immenſity, is our not having an adequate idea of infinity; we aſcribe to him certain properties, becauſe we ſee that they are contained in the idea we have of him; but we are obliged at the ſame time, in order to avoid abſurdities, to give him other attributes which we do not comprehend. Thus in geometry we admit the infinite diviſibility of matter, and the doctrine of aſymptotes which follows from it, without having a clear idea of either of them.

But after all, the materialiſm of the Stoicks does not evince that they were Atheiſts; a falſe notion about the Deity being far from proving that they believed none at all. What conſtitutes an Atheiſt, is not the maintaining with the Orientals, that matter is an expanſion of the divine ſubſtance; nor with the Stoicks, that the infinite Eſſence is a pure æther; nor with the Platoniſts, that the univerſe is an eternal production of the Deity; but real Atheiſm conſiſts in denying that there is a ſupreme Intelligence who made the world by his power, and governs it by his wiſdom.

For

For our fuller ſatisfaction, with regard to the theology of the heathens, let us ſee what the fathers of the church thought of it. They had ſufficient opportunities of knowing it thoroughly, by the frequent diſputes which they held with them. As this is a matter of a very nice nature, it may be dangerous to indulge any thing to one's own conjectures; let us have recourſe to wiſe antiquity. Arnobius (n) introduces the heathens complaining of the injuſtice of the Chriſtians. 'Tis a mere calumny, ſay thoſe 'heathens, to charge us with ſuch a crime, as the 'denying of a ſupreme God. We call him Jove, 'the ſupremely great and ſovereignly good; we de-'dicate our moſt magnificent ſtructures and our capi-'tols to him, to ſhew that we exalt him above all o-'ther Deities. (o) St. Peter in his preaching at A-'thens, ſays St. Clement of Alexandria (p), inſinuates 'that the Greeks had a knowledge of the Deity. He 'ſuppoſes that thoſe people adore the ſame God as 'we do, though not in the ſame manner. He does 'not forbid us to adore the ſame God as the Greeks, 'but he forbids us to adore him after the ſame way. 'He orders us to change the manner, and not the 'object of our worſhip,' 'The heathens, ſays Lactantius (q), 'who admit ſeveral Gods, ſay neverthe-'leſs that thoſe ſubordinate Deities, though they 'preſide over all the various parts of the univerſe, 'do it in ſuch a manner, as that there is ſtill but one 'ſole Ruler and ſupreme Governor. From whence 'it follows, that all other inviſible powers are not 'properly Gods, but miniſters or deputies of the 'one great and almighty God, who appointed them 'executors of his will and pleaſure.' Euſebius of Ceſarea goes farther. '(r) The heathens own that 'there is but one only God, who fills, pervades and

(n) *Arnob. lib.* 1. *p.* 19. (o) *An apocryphal book which then paſſed under the name of St. Peter's.* (p) *Strom. l.* 6. *p.* 635. (q) *Lib.* 1. *p.* 16. (r) *Præp. Evang. l.* 3. *cap.* 13. *p.* 105.

'preſides

'preſides over univerſal nature; but they maintain, 'that as he is preſent to his work only in an incor- 'poreal and inviſible manner, they are therefore in 'the right to worſhip him in his viſible and corpo- 'real effects.' I ſhall conclude with a famous paſ- ſage of St. Auſtin, who reduces the Polytheiſm of the heathens to the unity of one ſole Principle. '(f) Jupiter, ſays this father, is, according to the phi- 'loſophers, the ſoul of the world, who takes diffe- 'rent names according to the different effects which 'he produces. In the ethereal ſpaces he is called 'Jupiter, in the air Juno, in the ſea Neptune, in 'the earth Pluto, in hell Proſerpina, in the element 'of fire Vulcan, in the ſun Phœbus, in divination 'Apollo, in war Mars, in the vintage Bacchus, in 'the harveſt Ceres, in the foreſts Diana, and in the 'ſciences Minerva. All that crowd of Gods and 'Goddeſſes are only the ſame Jupiter, whoſe diffe- 'rent powers and attributes are expreſſed by diffe- 'rent names.' It is therefore evident by the teſti- mony of profane poets, heathen philoſophers, and fathers of the church, that the Pagans acknowledged one ſole ſupreme Deity. The Orientals, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, and all nations agreed uni- verſally in teaching this truth.

About the fiftieth Olympiad, ſix hundred years before the Chriſtian æra, the Greeks having loſt the traditional knowledge of the Orientals, began to lay aſide the doctrine of the ancients, and to reaſon about the divine Nature from prejudices, which their ſenſes and imagination ſuggeſted. 1. Anaximander lived at that time, and was the firſt who ſet himſelf to de- ſtroy the belief of a ſupreme Intelligence, in order to account for every thing by the action of blind matter, which by neceſſity aſſumes all ſorts of forms. He was followed by Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus,

(f) *S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 11.*

Strato, Lucretius, and all the ſchool of the atomical philoſophers. 2. Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, and all the great men of Greece oppoſed this impious doctrine, and endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Theology of the Orientals. Theſe philoſophers of a ſuperior genius obſerving in nature motion, thought and deſign, and the idea of matter including none of theſe three properties; they inferred from thence, that there was in nature another ſubſtance beſides matter. Greece being thus divided into two ſects, they diſputed for a long time, without either party being convinced. 3. At length about the 20th Olympiad, Pyrrho formed a third ſect, whoſe great principle was to doubt of every thing, and determine nothing. All the Atomiſts, who had laboured in vain to find out a demonſtration of their falſe principles, preſently ſtruck in with the Pyrrhonian ſect. They ran wildly into an univerſal doubting, and carried it almoſt to ſuch an exceſs of frenzy, that they doubted of the cleareſt and moſt palpable truths. They maintained without any allegory, that every thing we ſee is only an illuſion, and that the whole ſeries of life is but a perpetual dream, of which thoſe in the night are only ſo many images. 4. At laſt Zeno ſet up a fourth ſchool about the 130th Olympiad. This Philoſopher endeavoured to reconcile the diſciples of Democritus with thoſe of Plato, by maintaining that the firſt principle was indeed an infinite Wiſdom, but that his eſſence was only a pure æther, or a ſubtile light, which diffuſed itſelf every where, to give life, motion and reaſon to all beings.

It is plain then that there were four ſorts of philoſophers among the ancients; the Atheiſts or Atomiſts, the Spiritualiſts or Theiſts, the Materialiſts or Stoicks, the Pyrrhonians or Academics. In theſe laſt ages the modern Free-thinkers have only revived the ancient errors, diſguiſing them under new terms.

1. Jordano

1. Jordano Bruno, Vannini, and Spinoza have vamped up the monſtrous ſyſtem of Anaximander; and have added only ſome artful diſtinctions to impoſe upon weak minds. Spinoza, perceiving clearly that thought could not be an effect of matter, endeavoured to prevent all objections againſt the Materialiſts, by maintaining, that (t) extenſion and thought are properties of the ſame ſubſtance; that the ideas of objects are really nothing different from the objects themſelves (u); that extenſion and matter are the ſame (x); that infinite ſpace is the immenſity of God, as infinite time is his eternity (y); and conſequently that all eſſences are but different forms of the ſame ſubſtance (z). It muſt nevertheleſs be granted, that his Atheiſm does not conſiſt in theſe errors, ſince they have all been maintained by philoſophers who had a ſincere abhorrence of impiety. Spinoza's Atheiſm lyes wholly in this, that he makes the one only Subſtance, for which he contends, to act without knowledge or deſign. 2. Deſcartes, Malebrancho, Poiret, Leibnitz, Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr. Bentley, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Cheyne, and ſeveral philoſophers of a genius equally ſubtile and profound, have endeavoured to refute theſe errors, and brought arguments to ſupport the ancient theology. Beſides the proofs which are drawn from the effects, they have inſiſted on others drawn from the idea of the firſt cauſe. They ſhew plainly, that the reaſons for believing are infinitely ſtronger than thoſe for doubting; and that it is abſurd to deny what we ſee clearly, becauſe we do not ſee farther. 3. Mr. Hobbes, and ſome philoſophers of more faith, Behmen, and ſeveral cabaliſtical writers, have revived the errors of the Stoicks, and pretend that extenſion is the baſis of all ſub-

(t) *Locke of Hum. Under. p.* 456. (u) *Barclay's Dialogues.* (x) *Deſcartes and Malebranche.* (y) *Dr. Clarke's Letters to Leibnitz, p.* 77, 129. (z) *The Orientals and Semi-cabaliſtical writers.*

ſtances; that the ſoul differs from the body only as being more ſubtilized; that a ſpirit is but a rarified body, and a body a condenſed ſpirit; and laſtly, that the infinite Being, though indiviſible, is extended by local diffuſion. 4. To conclude, there are ſome ſuperficial minds, who not being able to look upon truth with a ſteady view, nor to weigh the degrees of evidence, nor to compare the force of proofs with that of objections, perſuade themſelves that the mind of man is not formed for the knowledge of truth, run headlong into an univerſal doubting, and fall at length into a ſenſeleſs kind of Pyrrhoniſm, called Egomiſm, where every one fancies himſelf to be the only being that exiſts. The hiſtory of former times is like that of our own: Human underſtanding takes almoſt the ſame forms in different ages, and loſes it's way in the ſame labyrinths; there are periodical diſeaſes of the mind as well as of the body.

PART II.

Of the MYTHOLOGY *of the* PAGANS.

MEN, left to the light of their reaſon alone, have always looked upon moral and phyſical evil as a ſhocking phænomenon in the work of a Being infinitely wiſe, good and powerful. To account for it, the philoſophers have had recourſe to ſeveral hypotheſes. Reaſon told them all, that what is ſupremely good could never produce any thing that was wicked or miſerable. From hence they concluded, that ſouls are not now what they were at firſt; that they are degraded, for ſome fault committed by them in a former ſtate; that this life is a ſtate of exile and expiation; and in a word, that all

all beings are to be reſtored to their proper order. Tradition ſtruck in with reaſon, and this tradition had ſpread over all nations certain opinions which they held in common, with regard to the three ſtates of the world, as I ſhall ſhew in this ſecond part, which will be a ſort of abridgment of the traditional doctrine of the ancients.

I begin with the Mythology of the Greeks and Romans. All the Poets, ſpeaking of the golden age, or reign of Saturn, deſcribe it to us as an happy ſtate, in which there were neither calamities, nor crimes, nor labour, nor pains, nor diſeaſes, nor death (a). They repreſent, on the contrary, the iron age, as the time when phyſical and moral evil firſt appeared; then it was that vices, ſufferings, and all manner of evils came forth of Pandora's box, and over-flowed the face of the earth (b). They ſpeak to us of the golden age renewed, as of a time when Aſtræa was to return upon earth; when juſtice, peace and innocence were to flouriſh again with their original luſtre; and when every thing was to be reſtored to it's primitive perfection (c). In a word, they ſing on all occaſions the exploits of a ſon of Jupiter, who was to quit his heavenly abode and live among men. They give him different names, according to his different functions; ſometimes he is Apollo fighting againſt Python and the Titans; ſometimes he is Hercules, deſtroying monſters and giants, and purging the earth of their enormities and crimes; One while he is Mercury, or the meſſenger of Jove, flying about every where to execute his decrees; and another while he is Perſeus,

(a) *See Heſiod. de ſæcul. aureo. Orpheus apud Proclum. Theol. Plat. lib.* 5. *cap.* 10. *Lucret. lib.* 5. *Ovid. Metam. lib.* 1. *fab.* 3. *Virg. Georg. lib.* 2. *lin.* 336.

(b) *Ovid. Met. lib.* 1. *fab.* 4, 5, & 6. *Virg. Georg. lib.* 1. *lin.* 125. *Juv. Satir.* 6.

(c) *Virg. Ecl.* 4. *Senec. Trag. Oedip. Act.* 2.

delivering Andromeda or human nature, from the monſter that roſe out of the great deep to devour her. He is always ſome ſon of Jupiter, giving battles, and gaining victories. I will not inſiſt upon theſe poetical deſcriptions, becauſe they may perhaps be looked upon as mere fictions, and a machinery introduced to embelliſh a poem, and amuſe the mind. Allegorical explications are liable to uncertainty and miſtake: So that I ſhall go on directly to repreſent the doctrine of the Philoſophers, particularly that of Plato, which is the ſource from whence Plotinus, Proclus, and the Platoniſts of the third century drew their principal notions.

To begin with the dialogue of Phædo, or of immortality, and give a ſhort analyſis of it: Phædo gives his friend an account of the condition in which he ſaw Socrates at the time of his death. 'He quitted life, ſays he, 'with a ſerene joy, and a noble intrepidi-'ty.' His friends aſking him the reaſon of it, 'I 'hope, ſays Socrates in his anſwer, to be re-united 'to the good and perfect Gods, and to be aſſociated 'with better men than thoſe I leave upon earth (d).' When Cebes objects to him that the ſoul vaniſhes after death like a ſmoke, and is entirely annihilated, Socrates ſets himſelf to refute that opinion, and endeavours to prove that the ſoul had a real exiſtence (e) in an happy ſtate, before it informed an human body. This doctrine he aſcribes to Orpheus (f). 'The diſciples of Orpheus, ſays he, called the body 'a priſon, becauſe the ſoul is here in a ſtate of 'puniſhment till it has expiated the faults that it 'committed in heaven. Souls, continued Plato, 'that are too much given to bodily pleaſures, and 'are in a manner beſotted, wander upon the earth, 'and are put into new bodies (g); for all ſenſuality

(d) *P.* 48, 51. (e) *P.* 57. (f) *Plat. Cratyl. p.* 276.
(g) *Phæd. p.* 61, 62, 63.

'and

'and paſſion cauſe the ſoul to have a ſtronger attachment to the body, make her fancy that ſhe is of the ſame nature, and render her in a manner corporeal; ſo that ſhe contracts an incapacity of flying away into another life. Being oppreſſed with the weight of her impurity and corruption, ſhe ſinks again into matter, and becomes thereby diſabled to remount towards the regions of purity, and attain to a re-union with her Principle.

Upon this foundation is built the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, which Plato repreſents in the ſecond Timæus as an allegory, and at other times as a thing real, where ſouls that have made themſelves unworthy of the ſupreme Beatitude, ſojourn and ſuffer ſucceſſively in the bodies of different animals, till at laſt they are purged of their crimes, by the pains they undergo. This hath made ſome philoſophers believe that the ſouls of beaſts are degraded ſpirits. A very ancient doctrine, and common to all the Aſiaticks, from whom Pythagoras and Plato derived it; but the Poets had much debaſed it by their fictions. They ſuppoſed that there was an univerſal and eternal metempſychoſis; that all ſpirits were ſubject to it, without ever arriving at any fixed ſtate. The philoſophers, on the contrary, believed that none but depraved ſouls were deſtined to ſuch a tranſmigration, and that it would one day be at an end, when they were purified from their crimes (h).

The Pythagoreans and Platoniſts not being able to perſuade themſelves that the brutes were abſolutely inſenſible of pleaſure and pain, for that matter was capable of ſenſation and conſciouſneſs, or that the Divine Juſtice could inflict ſufferings on intelligences that had never offended, thought the doctrine of tranſmigration leſs abſurd than that of

(h) *See Cudw. Intel Syſtem. p.* 314.

mere machines, material ſouls, or pure intelligences, formed only to animate the bodies of beaſts.

The firſt of theſe opinions is altogether contrary to experience; and though we may by general and ingenious hypotheſes throw a miſt before our eyes, yet whenever we examine nicely into all appearances of ſenſation diſcernible in beaſts we can never ſeriouſly doubt of it. I do not ſay the appearances of reflection, but of ſenſation; I am not unaware that in our own bodies we have frequent motions of which we are not conſcious, and which nevertheleſs ſeem to be the effect of the moſt exact and geometrical reaſoning. I ſpeak therefore of the marks of pleaſure and pain which we obſerve in the brutes; and I think that we can have no pretence to reject ſuch evidence, unleſs it be that we don't feel what happens to them; but then, for the ſame reaſon, we might believe, that all other men are machines. The ſecond opinion, which is that of material ſouls, held by the Peripateticks, tends to deſtroy all the proofs of the immateriality of our ſpirits. If matter be capable of ſenſation, it may likewiſe be capable of reflecting upon it's own ſenſations, and the Materialiſts will gain their point. The third opinion deſtroys all our ſoundeſt notions of the Deity, by ſuppoſing that God can create beings which ſhall be immediately unhappy, without any previous demerit on their part, degrade pure intelligences without any reaſon, and when they for a while have acted in mortal bodies a part much below the dignity of their nature, reduce them again to nothing.

I will venture to ſay, that the doctrine of tranſmigration is leſs repugnant not only to reaſon and experience, but likewiſe to religion, than either of the other three. We ſee in the (i) ſacred Oracles that

(i) *St. Luke, chap. viii.*

impure

impure ſpirits may deſire ſometimes to enter into the bodies of the vileſt animals. After all, a true philoſopher will be prudently ſceptical, with regard to all uncertain conjectures. The only uſe which I would make of what has been above advanced, is to ſhew the incredulous that they ſay nothing to the purpoſe againſt us, when they maintain that our ſouls die like thoſe of the brutes; and farther, that the fictions of the ancients, how abſurd ſoever they at firſt appear, are often more defenſible than the ſyſtems of the moderns, which are ſo much admired for a depth of penetration.

To return to Plato. 'Pure ſouls, adds he in his Phædo, 'that have exerted themſelves here below 'to get the better of all corruption, and free themſelves from the impurities of their terreſtrial priſon, retire after death into an inviſible place, unknown to us, where the pure unites with the 'pure, the good cleaves to it's like, and our immortal eſſence is united to the divine.' He calls this place the firſt earth, where ſouls made their abode before their degradation. 'The earth, ſays he, 'is immenſe; we know and we inhabit only a 'ſmall corner of it (k). That ethereal earth, the ancient abode of ſouls, is placed in the pure regions 'of heaven, where the ſtars are ſeated. We that 'live in this low abyſs are apt enough to fancy that 'we are in an high place, and we call the air the 'heavens; juſt like a man that from the bottom of 'the ſea ſhould view the ſun and ſtars through the 'water, and fancy the ocean to be the firmament 'itſelf. But if we had wings to mount on high, 'we ſhould ſee that THERE is the true heaven, the 'true light, and the true earth. As in the ſea every 'thing is altered, and diſfigured by the ſalts that 'abound in it; ſo in our preſent earth every thing

(k) P. 81.

' is deformed, corrupted, and in a ruinous condi-
' tion, if compared with the primitive earth.'
Plato gives afterwards a pompous deſcription of that ethereal earth, of which ours is only a broken cruſt. He ſays (l), ' that every thing there was beautiful,
' harmonious and tranſparent; fruits of an exqui-
' ſite taſte grew there naturally; and it was watered
' with rivers of nectar. They there breathed the
' light, as we here breathe the air, and they drank
' waters which were purer than air itſelf.' This notion of Plato agrees in a great meaſure with that of Deſcartes, about the nature of the planets; this modern philoſopher was of opinion that they were at firſt ſuns, which contracted afterwards a thick and opaque cruſt.

This ſame doctrine of Plato is likewiſe clearly explained in his Timæus (m). There he tells us how Solon in his travels diſcourſed with an Egyptian prieſt about the antiquity of the world, it's origin, and the revolutions which had happened in it according to the Mythology of the Greeks. Upon which the Egyptian prieſt ſays to him, ' O Solon,
' you Greeks are always children, and you never
' come to an age of maturity; your underſtanding
' is young, and has no true knowledge of antiquity.
' There have been upon earth ſeveral deluges and
' conflagrations, cauſed by changes in the motion
' of the heavenly bodies. Your hiſtory of Phaeton,
' whatever air it has of a fable, is nevertheleſs not
' without a real foundation. We Egyptians have
' preſerved the memory of theſe facts in our monu-
' ments and temples; whereas it is but a very little
' while that the Greeks have had any knowledge
' of letters, of the muſes, and of the ſciences.'
This diſcourſe puts Timæus upon explaining to Socrates the origin of things, and the primitive ſtate

(l) *P.* 82. (m) *Tim. p.* 1043.

of

of the world (n). 'Whatever has been produced, 'says he, has been produced by some cause. 'Tis 'no easy matter to know the nature of this Maker, 'and Father of the universe; and though you 'should discover it, it would be impossible for you 'to make the vulgar comprehend it. This Architect of the world, continues he, had a model by 'which he produced every thing, and this model is 'himself. As he is good, and what is good has 'not the least tincture of envy, he made all things 'as far as was possible like Himself. He made the 'world perfect in the whole of it's constitution, perfect too in all the various parts that compose it, 'which were subject neither to diseases, nor to decay of age. The Father of all things, beholding 'this beautiful image of Himself, took a complacency in his work, and this complacency raised in 'him a desire of improving it to a nearer likeness to 'it's model.'

In the dialogue which bears the title of Politicus Plato, mentioning this primitive state of the world, calls it the reign of Saturn, and describes it in this manner (o). 'God was then the Prince and common 'Father of all; he governed the world by himself, 'as he governs it now by inferior Deities: Rage 'and cruelty did not then prevail upon earth; war 'and sedition were not so much as known. God 'himself took care of the sustenance of mankind, 'and was their Guardian and Shepherd: There 'were no magistrates no civil polity as there are 'now. In those happy days men sprung out of the 'bosom of the earth, which produced them of it'self, like flowers and trees. The fertile fields 'yielded fruits and corn without the labour of til'lage. Mankind stood in no need of raiment to 'cover their bodies, being troubled with no incle-

(n) *P.* 1047. (o) *Pag.* 537, 538.

'mency of the ſeaſons; and they took their reſt upon beds of turf of a perpetual verdure. Under the reign of Jupiter, Saturn, the maſter of the univerſe, having quitted as it were the reins of his empire, hid himſelf in an inacceſſible retreat. The inferior Gods who governed under him retired likewiſe; the very foundations of the world were ſhaken by motions contrary to it's principle and it's end, and it loſt it's beauty and it's luſtre. Then it was that good and evil were blended together. But in the end, leſt the world ſhould be plunged in an eternal abyſs of confuſion, God, the Author of the primitive order, will appear again and reſume the reins of empire. Then he will change, amend, embelliſh and reſtore the whole frame of nature, and put an end to decay of age, to diſeaſes and death.'

In the dialogue under the title of Phædrus, Plato more diſtinctly unfolds the ſecret cauſes of moral evil, which brought in phyſical evil. '(p) There are in every one of us, ſays he, two principal ſprings of action, the deſire of pleaſure, and the love of virtue, which are the wings of the ſoul. When theſe wings are parted, when the love of pleaſure and the love of virtue carry us contrary ways, then ſouls fall down into mortal bodies.' Let us ſee here his notion of the pleaſures which ſpirits taſte in heaven, and of the manner how ſouls fell from the happy ſtate which they enjoyed there. '(q) The great Jupiter, ſays he, animating his winged chariot, marches firſt, followed by all the inferior Gods and Genii; thus they traverſe the heavens, admiring the infinite wonders thereof. But when they go to the great banquet, they raiſe themſelves to the top of heaven, and mount above the ſpheres. None of our poets ever yet ſung, or can

(p) *Pag.* 1216. (q) *Pag.* 1222.

ſing

'ſing that ſuper-celeſtial place (r). It is there that 'ſouls contemplate with the eyes of the underſtand-'ing, the truly exiſting Eſſence, which has neither 'colour, nor figure, nor is the object of any ſenſe, 'but is purely intelligible. There they ſee virtue, 'truth and juſtice not as they are here below, but 'as they exiſt in him who is Being itſelf. There 'they ſatiate themſelves with that ſight till they are 'no longer able to bear the glory of it, and then 'they return back to heaven, where they feed again 'on nectar and ambroſia. Such is the life of the 'Gods. Now continues Plato (ſ), every ſoul which 'follows God faithfully into that ſuper-celeſtial 'place, preſerves itſelf pure and without blemiſh; 'but if it takes up with nectar and ambroſia, and 'does not attend on Jupiter's chariot to go and 'contemplate truth, it grows heavy and ſluggiſh, it 'breaks it's wings, it falls upon the earth, and en-'ters into a human body more or leſs vile, accord-'ding as it has been more or leſs elevated. Souls 'leſs degraded than others dwell in the bodies of 'philoſophers. The moſt deſpicable of all animate 'the bodies of tyrants and evil Princes. Their con-'dition alters after death, and becomes more or 'leſs happy according as they have loved virtue or 'vice in their life time. After ten thouſand years 'ſouls will be re-united to their origin. During 'that ſpace of time their wings grow again and are 'renewed (t).'

Such was the doctrine which Plato oppoſed to the profane ſect of Democritus and Epicurus, who denied an eternal Providence on account of the phyſical and moral evil which they ſaw in the world. This Philoſopher gives us a fine deſcription of the

(r) Τὸ περιουράνιος τόπος. (ſ) *Pag.* 1223.

(t) *This doctrine of Plato's, concerning the fall and reſtoration of ſouls, is explained by Macrobius in his commentary on Scipio's dream, chap. ii. 12, 13.*

uni-

univerſe: He conſiders it as an immenſity filled with free ſpirits, which inhabit and inform innumerable worlds. Theſe ſpirits are qualified to enjoy a double felicity; the one conſiſting in the contemplation of the divine Eſſence, the other in admiring his works. When ſouls no longer make their felicity conſiſt in the knowledge of truth, and when lower pleaſures turn them off from the love of the ſupreme Eſſence, they are thrown down into ſome planet, there to undergo expiatory puniſhments till they are cured by their ſufferings. Theſe planets are conſequently, according to Plato's notion, like hoſpitals or (u) places inſtituted for the cure of diſtempered intelligences. Such is the inviolable law eſtabliſhed (x) for the preſervation of order in the celeſtial ſpheres. This double employment of the heavenly ſpirits is one of the ſublimeſt notions of Plato, and ſhews the wonderful depth of his genius. It was the ſyſtem adopted by the heathen philoſophers, whenever they attempted to explain to us the origin of evil; and thus they reaſon. If ſouls could without intermiſſion contemplate the divine Eſſence by a direct view, they would be impeccable, the ſight of the ſupreme Good neceſſarily engaging all the love of the will. To explain therefore the fall of ſpirits, they are forced to ſuppoſe an interval, when the ſoul withdraws from the divine Preſence, and quits the ſuper-celeſtial abode, in order to admire the beauties of nature, and entertain herſelf with ambroſia, as a food leſs delicate, and more ſuitable to a finite being. It is in theſe intervals that ſhe becomes falſe to her duty.

Pythagoras had learned the ſame doctrine among the Egyptians. We have ſtill a very valuable monument of it left in the commentary of Hierocles upon the golden verſes aſcribed to that Philoſo-

(u) Νοσοκομεῖα. (x) Θεσμὸς Ἀνάγκης.

pher's

pher (y). 'As our alienation from God, says this author, and the loss of the wings which used to raise us up to heavenly things, have thrown us down into this region of death, which is over-run with all manner of evils; so the stripping our selves of earthly affections, and the revival of virtues in us make our wings grow again, and raise us up to the mansions of life, where true good is to be found without any mixture of evil. The essence of man being in the middle between beings that contemplate God without ceasing, and such as are not able to contemplate him at all, he has it in his power to raise himself up towards the one, or sink down towards the other (z).' 'The wicked man, says Hierocles in another place, does not care that the soul should be immortal, for fear he should live after death only to suffer punishment. But the judges of the shades below, as they form their judgment upon the rules of truth, do not decree, that the soul should exist no longer, but that it should be no longer vicious. Their business is to correct and cure it, by prescribing punishments for the health of nature, just as physicians heal the most inveterate ulcers by incisions. These judges punish the crime in order to extirpate vice. They do not annihilate the essence of the soul, but bring it back to it's true and genuine existence, purifying it from all the passions that corrupt it. And therefore when we have sinned, we should be glad to embrace the punishment as the only remedy for vice.'

It is therefore evidently the doctrine of the most famous Greek philosophers, 1. That souls had a pre-existence in heaven. 2. That the Jupiter who marched at the head of souls before the loss of their

(y) *Hierocl. Comm. in aurea Carm. p.* 187. *Edit. Cant.* 1709.
(z) *Ibid. Carm.* 120.

wings,

wings, is distinct from the supreme Essence, and is very like the Mythras of the Persians, and the Orus of the Egyptians. 3. That souls lost their wings, and were thrust down into mortal bodies, because that instead of following Jupiter's chariot, they gave themselves too much up to the enjoyment of lower pleasures. 4. That at the end of a certain period of time, the wings of the soul shall grow again, and Saturn shall resume the reins of his empire in order to restore the universe to it's original splendor.

Let us now examine the Egyptian Mythology, the source from whence that of the Greeks was derived. I shall not offer to maintain the mystical explications that Kircher gives of the famous table of Isis, and of the obelisks that are to be seen at Rome: I confine myself to Plutarch, who has preserved us an admirable monument of that Mythology. To represent it in it's real beauties, it will be proper to give a short and clear analysis of his treatise of Isis and Osiris, which is a letter written to Clea, priestess of Isis. '(a) The Egyptian Mythology, says Plutarch, has two senses, the one sacred and sublime, 'the other sensible and palpable. 'Tis for this reason that the Egyptians put Sphinxes before the 'door of their temples; designing thereby to signify to us that their Theology contains the secrets 'of wisdom under enigmatical words. This is also 'the sense of the inscription upon a statue of Pallas 'or Isis, at Sais, I AM ALL THAT IS, HAS BEEN, 'AND SHALL BE, AND NO MORTAL HAS EVER 'YET REMOVED THE VAIL THAT COVERS ME.' '(b) He afterwards relates the Egyptian fable of Isis 'and Osiris. They were both born of Rhea and the 'Sun; whilst they were still in their mother's 'womb, they jointly ingendred the God Orus the

(a) *Pag.* 354. (b) *Pag.* 365.

'living

'living image of their ſubſtance. Typhon was not 'born, but burſt violently through the ribs of Rhea. 'He afterwards revolted againſt Oſiris, filled the 'univerſe with his rage and violence, tore the bo-'dy of his brother in pieces, mangled his limbs, 'and ſcattered them about. Ever ſince that time 'Iſis goes wandering about the earth to gather up the 'ſcattered limbs of her brother and huſband. The 'eternal and immortal ſoul of Oſiris led his ſon O-'rus to the ſhades below, where he gave him in-'ſtructions how to fight, and vanquiſh Typhon. 'Orus returned upon earth, fought and defeated 'Typhon, but did not kill him; he only bound 'him, and took away his power of doing miſchief. 'The wicked one made his eſcape afterwards, and 'was going to throw all again into diſorder: But 'Orus fought him in two bloody battles, and de-'ſtroyed him entirely.' Plutarch goes on thus; '(c) Whoever applieth theſe allegories to the divine 'Nature, ever bleſſed and immortal, deſerves to 'be treated with contempt. We muſt not how-'ever believe that they are mere fables without any 'meaning, like thoſe of the poets. They repreſent 'to us things that really happened. It would be 'likewiſe a dangerous error, and manifeſt impiety 'to interpret what is ſaid of the Gods, as Eveme-'rus the Meſſenian did, and apply it to the ancient 'kings and great generals. This would in the end 'ſerve to deſtroy religion, and eſtrange men from 'the Deity (d).' 'There are others, adds he, much 'juſter in their notions, who have wrote, that 'whatever is related of Typhon, Oſiris, Iſis and 'Orus muſt be underſtood of genii and demons.' '(e) This was the opinion of Pythagoras, Plato, Xe-'nocrates and Chryſippus, who followed the anci-'ent Theologiſts in this notion. All thoſe great

(c) *Pag.* 358. (d) *Ibid.* (e) *Pag.* 360.

'men

'men maintained that these genii were very powerful, and far superior to mortals; that they did not however partake of the Deity in a pure and simple manner, but were composed of a spiritual and a corporeal nature, and were consequently capable of pleasures and pains, passions and changes; for there are virtues and vices among the genii as well as among men. Hence come the fables of the Greeks concerning the Titans and Giants, the engagements of Python against Apollo, and the furies and extravagancies of Bacchus, with several other fictions like those of Osiris and Typhon. Hence it is likewise that Homer speaks of good and evil demons. Plato calls the first tutelary Deities, because they are mediators between the Deity and men, carry up the prayers of mortals to heaven, and bring us from thence the knowledge and revelation of secret and future things (f).' 'Empedocles, continues he, says, that the evil demons are punished for the faults they have committed. First the sun precipitates them into the air; the air casts them into the deep sea; the sea vomits them up upon the land, and from the earth they are raised at last to heaven. Thus are they transported from one place to another, till being in the end punished and purified, they return to the place adapted to their nature.' Plutarch, after having thus given a theological explanation of the Egyptian allegories, gives likewise the physical explications of them; but he rejects them all, and returns to his first doctrine. '(g) Osiris is neither the sun, nor the water, nor the earth, nor the heaven; but whatever there is in nature well disposed, well regulated, good and perfect, all that is the image of Osiris. Typhon is neither aridity, nor the fire, nor the sea; but

(f) *Pag.* 361. (g) *Pag.* 376.

'what-

'whatever is hurtful, inconſtant and irregular.' We muſt obſerve that in this Egyptian allegory, Oſiris does not ſignify, as in other places, the firſt principle of Deity, the Agathos of Plato, but the ſon of Ammon, the Apollo of the Greeks, Jupiter the Conductor, a God inferior to the ſupreme Deity. It was an ancient opinion among the Pagans and Hebrews, that the Divinity had united himſelf to the firſt and moſt perfect production of his power.

Plutarch goes farther in another treatiſe, and explains to us the origin of evil: His reaſoning on this occaſion is equally ſolid and ſubtile, and is as follows (h): 'The maker of the world, being perfectly good, formed all things at firſt, as far as was poſſible, like himſelf. The world at it's birth received from him who made it all ſorts of good things: Whatever it has at preſent of unhappy and wicked, is an indiſpoſition foreign to it's nature. God cannot be the cauſe of evil, becauſe he is ſovereignly good: matter cannot be the cauſe of evil, becauſe it has no active force: But evil comes from a third principle, neither ſo perfect as God, nor ſo imperfect as matter. This third being is intelligent nature, which hath within itſelf a ſource, a principle, and a cauſe of motion.'

I have already ſhewn that the ſchools of Pythagoras and Plato aſſerted liberty of will. The former expreſſes it by that faculty of the ſoul, whereby it can either raiſe or debaſe itſelf; the other, by the wings of the ſoul, that is, the love of virtue and the love of pleaſure, which may move different ways. Plutarch follows the ſame principles, and makes liberty conſiſt in the activity of the ſoul, by which it is the ſource of it's own determinations.

This opinion therefore ought not to be looked upon as modern; it is at once both natural and phi-

(q) *Plut. de Anim. form. p.* 1015.

loſophical

loſophical. The ſoul can always ſeparate and reunite, recal and compare her ideas, and on this activity depends her liberty. We can always think upon other goods than thoſe we are actually thinking of. It muſt be owned that the paſſions, by ſtrong ſenſations they excite in us, ſometimes take up all the capacity of the ſoul, and hinder it from reflecting; they darken it's diſcerning faculty, and hurry it on to an aſſent; they transform objects, and place them in a wrong light: But ſtrong as they are, they are never invincible; it is difficult indeed, but not impoſſible, to ſurmount them; it is always in our power gradually to diminiſh their force, and prevent their exceſs. This is the warfare of man on earth, and this is the triumph of virtue. The heathens feeling this tyranny of the paſſions, were convinced by the light of nature alone of the neceſſity of a celeſtial power to ſubdue them: They always repreſent virtue to us as a divine energy deſcending from heaven: They are continually bringing into their poems guardian Deities, who inſpire, enlighten and ſtrengthen us; to ſhew that heroick virtues can only proceed from the Gods. Theſe were the principles upon which the wiſe ancients went, in their arguments againſt thoſe notions of fatality, which are alike deſtructive of religion, morality and ſociety.

To return to the Egyptians. Their doctrine, according to Plutarch, ſuppoſes, 1. That the world was created without any phyſical or moral evil, by a Being infinitely good. 2. That ſeveral genii abuſing their liberty, fell into crimes, and thereby into miſery. 3. That theſe genii muſt ſuffer expiatory puniſhments till they are purified and reſtored to their firſt ſtate. 4. That the God Orus, the ſon of Iſis and Oſiris, and who fights with the evil principle, is a ſubordinate Deity, like Jupiter the Conductor the ſon of Saturn.

Let us conſult next the Mythology of the Orientals:

talks: The nearer we approach the first origin of nations, the more pure shall we find their theology. ‘(i) Zoroaster, says Plutarch, taught that there are ‘two Gods contrary to each other in their operations; the one the author of all the good, the other ‘of all the evil in nature. The good Principle he ‘calls Oromazes, the other the demon Arimanius (k). ‘He says that the one resembles light and truth, the ‘other darkness and ignorance. There is likewise a ‘middle God between these two, named Mythras (l), ‘whom the Persians call the intercessor or mediator. ‘The Magi add, that Oromazes is born of the purest ‘light, and Arimanius of darkness; that they continually make war upon one another, and that Oromazes made six genii, goodness, truth, justice, wisdom, plenty and joy; and Arimanius made six ‘others to oppose them, malice, falshood, injustice, ‘folly, want and sadness. Oromazes having withdrawn himself to as great a distance from the sphere ‘of Arimanius, as the sun is from the earth, beautified the heavens with stars and constellations. He ‘created afterwards four and twenty other genii, ‘and put them into an egg (by which the ancients ‘mean the earth;) but Arimanius and his genii ‘brake through this shining egg, and immediately ‘evil was blended and confounded with good. But ‘there will come a time appointed by fate, when ‘Arimanius will be entirely destroyed and extirpated; the earth will change it's form, and become ‘plain and even; and happy men will have only ‘one and the same life, language and government.’ Theopompus writes also, ‘that according to the ‘doctrine of the Magi, these Gods must make war ‘for nine thousand years, the one destroying the ‘other's work, till at last (m) hell shall be no more;

(i) *De Isid. & Osirid. pag.* 370. Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν. (k) *Ibid.* (l) Δύο καὶ (m) Ἅιδης.

‘Then

'Then men ſhall be happy, and their bodies become 'tranſparent. The God who made all things keeps 'himſelf concealed till that time; an interval not 'too long for a God, but rather like a moment of 'ſleep.'

We have loſt the ancient books of the firſt Perſians; ſo that in order to judge of their Mythology, we muſt have recourſe to the oriental philoſophers of our own time, and ſee if there be ſtill left among the diſciples of Zoroaſter, any traces of the ancient doctrine of their maſter. The famous Dr. Hyde, a divine of the Church of England, who had travelled into the Eaſt, and perfectly underſtood the language of the country, has tranſlated the following paſſages out of Shariſthani, an Arabian philoſopher of the fifteenth century (n). 'The firſt Magi did not look up-'on the two Principles as co-eternal, but believed 'that light was eternal, and that darkneſs was pro-'duced in time; and the origin of this evil principle 'they account for in this manner: Light can pro-'duce nothing but light, and can never be the ori-'gin of evil; how then was evil produced? Light, 'ſay they, produced ſeveral beings, all of them 'ſpiritual, luminous and powerful; but their chief, 'whoſe name was Ahriman or Arimanius, had an 'evil thought contrary to the light: He doubted, 'and by that doubting he became dark. From hence 'proceeded all evils; diſſention, malice, and every 'thing elſe of a contrary nature to the light. Theſe 'two principles made war upon one another, till at 'laſt peace was concluded, upon condition that the 'lower world ſhould be in ſubjection to Arimanius 'for ſeven thouſand years; after this ſpace of time 'he is to ſurrender back the world to the light.' Here we ſee the four notions that I ſpeak of in the foregoing work: 1. A ſtate before good and evil

(n) *Hyde Rel. ant. Perſ. cap.* 9. *p.* 163. *& cap.* 22. *p.* 294.

were

were blended and confounded together. 2. A ſtate after they were ſo blended and confounded. 3. A ſtate when evil ſhall be entirely deſtroyed. 4. A middle God between the good and the evil Principle.

As the doctrine of the Perſian Magi is a ſequel of the doctrine of the Indian Brachmans, we muſt conſult the one to put the other in a clear light. We have but few traces left of the ancient theology of the Gymnoſophiſts, yet thoſe, which Strabo has preſerved, ſuppoſe the two ſtates of the world, that of nature in it's purity, and that of nature corrupted. When this hiſtorian has deſcribed the life and manners of the Brachmans, he adds, '(o) Thoſe philoſophers look upon the ſtate of men in this life to be 'like that of children in their mother's womb; death, 'according to their notion, being a birth to a true 'and a happy life. They believe, that whatever 'happens to mortals here does not deſerve the name 'either of good or evil. They have many notions 'in common with the Greeks; and like them believe that the world had a beginning, and will 'have an end; and that God who made it, and governs it, is every where preſent to his work.' The ſame author goes on in this manner; 'Oneſecritus 'being ſent by Alexander the Great to inform himſelf of the life, manners and doctrine of thoſe philoſophers, found a Brachman named Calanus, who 'taught him the following principles. Formerly, 'plenty reigned over all nature; milk, wine, honey 'and oil flowed from fountains; but men having 'made an ill uſe of this felicity, Jupiter deprived 'them of it, and condemned them to labour for the 'ſuſtenance of their lives.

In order to form a better judgment of the doctrine of the ancient Gymnoſophiſts, I have conſulted what has been tranſlated of the Vedam, which is the ſa-

(o) *Lib.* 15. *p.* 713, 714. *Ed. Lut. Par.* 1620.

cred

cred book of the modern Bramins: Tho' it's antiquity be not perhaps so great as it is affirmed to be, yet there is no denying but it contains the ancient traditions of those people, and of their philosophers. 'Tis plain by this book, '(p) That the Bramins acknowledge one sole and supreme God, whom they call Vistnou; that his first and most ancient production was a secondary God, named Brama, whom the supreme God formed out of a flower that floated upon the surface of the great deep before the formation of the world; and that Vistnou afterwards, on account of Bramá's virtue, gratitude and fidelity, gave him power to form the universe.' They believe moreover, '(q) That souls are eternal emanations from the divine Essence, or at least that they were produced long before the formation of the world; that they were originally in a state of purity, but having sinned, were thrown down into the bodies of men, or of beasts according to their respective demerits; so that the body, where the soul resides, is a sort of dungeon or prison. Lastly, they hold, that 'after a certain number of transmigrations, all souls shall be re-united to their origin, re-admitted into the company of the Gods, and deified (r).'

I should hardly have thought these traditions authentick, or have brought myself to trust to the translators of the Vedam, if this doctrine had not been perfectly agreeable to that of Pythagoras, which I gave an account of a little before: This Philosopher taught the Greeks nothing but what he had learned from the Gymnosophists.

The discovery of these uniform and agreeing sentiments in Greece, Egypt, Persia, and the Indies, made me desirous to advance farther into the East,

(p) *See Abrah. Roger, of the religion of the Bram. Book II. Part* 1. *chap.* 1. *& Kircher Sina Illust.* (q) *Ibid. Roger, Part* 2. *chap.* 7. (r) *Abr. Kircher, Sina Illust.*

and

and to carry my reſearches as far as China. I applied myſelf accordingly to ſuch as underſtood the language of that country, had ſpent ſeveral years in it, and were well verſed in the original books of that nation. And in this point particularly I have made great uſe of the informations I have received from a gentleman of a ſuperior genius, who does not care to be mentioned till he has publiſhed a large work upon theſe matters, which will be of ſervice to religion, and do honour to human underſtanding. In the mean time he has allowed me to publiſh the following paſſages, which he tranſlated himſelf out of ſome ancient Chineſe books that have been brought into Europe; and which may be ſeen both at Paris and at Rome; ſo that all who underſtand the language may judge of the faithfulneſs of the tranſlation. The ancient commentaries on the book Yking, i. e. the book of Changes, continually ſpeak of a double heaven, a primitive and a poſterior. The firſt heaven is there deſcribed in the following manner: 'All things were then in a happy ſtate, every 'thing was beautiful, every thing was good, all be- 'ings were perfect in their kind. In this happy age 'heaven and earth employed their virtues jointly to 'embelliſh nature. There was no jarring in the 'elements, no inclemency in the air, all things 'grew without labour; an univerſal fertility reigned 'every where. The active and paſſive virtues con- 'ſpired together, without any effort or oppoſition, 'to produce and perfect the univerſe.' In the books which the Chineſe call King or Sacred, we read the following paſſage; 'Whilſt the firſt ſtate of 'heaven laſted, a pure pleaſure and a perfect tran- 'quillity reigned over all nature. There were nei- 'ther labour, nor pains, nor ſorrow, nor crimes. 'Nothing made oppoſition to the will of man.' The philoſophers who ſtuck to theſe ancient traditions, and particularly Tchouangſe, ſay, 'That in the ſtate

'of the firſt heaven man was united inwardly to the 'ſupreme Reaſon, and that outwardly he practiſed 'all the works of juſtice. The heart rejoiced in 'truth, and there was no mixture of falſhood; then 'the four ſeaſons of the year ſucceeded each other 'regularly without confuſion: There were no im-'petuous winds, nor exceſſive rains; the ſun and 'the moon, without ever being clouded, furniſhed 'a light purer and brighter than at preſent. The 'five planets kept on their courſe without any ine-'quality. There was nothing which did harm to 'man, or which ſuffered any hurt from him. An 'univerſal amity and harmony reigned over all 'nature.'

On the other hand the Philoſopher Hoainantſe ſpeaking of the latter heaven, ſays, 'The pillars of 'heaven were broken; the earth was ſhaken to it's 'very foundations; the heavens ſunk lower towards 'the North; the ſun, the moon and the ſtars changed 'their motions; the earth fell to pieces; the waters 'encloſed within it's boſom burſt forth with vio-'lence, and overflowed it. Man rebelling againſt 'heaven, the ſyſtem of the univerſe was quite diſ-'ordered; the ſun was eclipſed, the planets altered 'their courſe, and the univerſal harmony was diſ-'turbed.' The Philoſophers Wentſe and Lietſe, who lived long before Hoainantſe, expreſs themſelves almoſt in the ſame terms. 'The univerſal fertility of 'nature, ſay theſe ancient authors, degenerated into 'an ugly barrenneſs, the plants faded, the trees wi-'thered away, diſconſolate nature refuſed to diſtri-'bute her uſual bounty. All creatures declared war 'againſt one another; miſeries and crimes over-'flowed the face of the earth.' 'All theſe evils 'aroſe, ſays the book Liki, from man's deſpiſing the 'ſupreme Monarch of the univerſe: He would 'needs diſpute about truth and falſhood, and theſe 'diſputes baniſhed the eternal Reaſon. He then

'fixed

'fixed his looks on terreſtrial objects, and loved 'them to exceſs; hence aroſe the paſſions; he be-'came gradually transformed into the objects he 'loved, and the celeſtial reaſon entirely abandoned 'him. Such was the original ſource of all crimes, 'which drew after them all manner of miſeries ſent 'by heaven for the puniſhment thereof.'

The ſame books ſpeak of a time when every thing is to be reſtored to it's firſt ſplendor, by the coming of a hero called Kiun-Tſe, which ſignifies Shepherd and Prince, to whom they give likewiſe the names of, the moſt Holy, the univerſal Teacher, and the ſupreme Truth. He anſwers exactly to the Mythras of the Perſians, the Orus, or ſecond Oſiris of the Egyptians, the Apollo or Mercury of the Greeks, and the Brama of the Indians.

The Chineſe books ſpeak likewiſe of the ſufferings and conflicts of Kiun-Tſe, juſt as the Perſians do of the combats of Mythras, the Egyptians of the murder of Oſiris, the Tyrians of the death of Adonis, and the Greeks of the labours and painful exploits of a ſon of Jupiter who came down upon earth to exterminate monſters. It looks as if the ſource of all theſe allegories was an ancient tradition common to all nations, that the middle God was not to expiate and put an end to crimes but by his own great ſufferings. In ſpeaking of the death of Adonis in the foregoing work, I have made advantage of this tradition to pave the way for what Daniel ſays afterwards to Cyrus concerning the ſuffering Meſſiah. I ſhall here give the reader an account of what I find in the religion of the Tyrians, and in the doctrine of the ancients, to authorize the new allegory which is added in the preſent edition. 1. The Tyrians acknowledged one ſupreme God, named Bel, who is the ſame with the Jehovah of the Hebrews (f). 2. They

(f) *Seldenus de Diis Syris, Synt.* 2. *cap.* 1. *de Belo.*

held likewiſe a ſubordinate God, whom they called Thammuz, Adon, Adonis, which ſignifies the Lord (ſ). 3. Adonis, Oſiris, Apollo and Hercules, are the ſame (t). 4. The death of Adonis, killed by a boar, is the ſame with the murder of Oſiris ſlain by Typhon, or the evil principle (u). 5. Solemn days were inſtituted by the Phœnicians to bewail the death of Adonis, and to ſing praiſes to him as riſen from the dead (x). 6. Some ancient and venerable writers among the Chriſtians believed, that the fable of Adonis was a corruption of an old tradition concerning the ſuffering Meſſiah, and apply all the Tyrian ceremonies to our myſteries (y). 7. Adonis loved Venus, eſpouſed her, and ſhe became the mother of the Gods (z). 8. Urania, Aſtarte, Venus and Proſerpine are the ſame Goddeſs (a). 9. Some think that Aſtarte is the morning ſtar, Lucifer, or a fallen ſtar (b). 10. According to the doctrine of the ancients, as well Pagan as Hebrew ſpirits fell not at once, but by degrees, that is to ſay, from the fixed ſtars into the region of the planets, from the planets to the earth, and from the earth to the infernal regions (c): For which reaſon I have repreſented theſe three different falls of ſpirits by the three names of Aſtarte, Venus and Proſerpine. Theſe are the foundations on which I have built the allegory of Adonis and Urania, which Amenophis rehearſes to Cyrus in the ſeventh book. The only liberty I have taken is to make Urania repreſent, not the divine Wiſdom, but fallen

(ſ) *Heſych. on the word* Ἄδωνις. (t) *See above, p.* 290.
(u) *Seld. cap. ii. de Thammuz.* (x) *St. Jer. Comm.* 3. *upon Ezek. St. Cyril. book ii. Comm. upon Iſai. Procop. upon the* 18*th ch. of Iſai. Lucian. de Deâ Syr. p.* 1058. *Macrob. Saturn.* 1. *cap.* 21. (y) *Jul. Firmic. de Myſt. p.* 151.
(z) *Seld. de Diis Syris, Synt.* 2. *c.* 2. *de Aſtarte & cap.* 4. *de Ven. Syriac.* (a) *Ibid.* (b) *Ibid.* 224. *Ed. Lugd. Bat. & Suidas* ἀφροδίτης ἀστήρ. (c) *Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſirid. & Rittang. Cab. denud. de revol. anim. part* 1. *cap. i.*

intel-

intelligences; as Pſyche in Apuleius does not repreſent the ſoul of the world, but ſouls unfaithful to love: Theſe kinds of metonymy are frequent in the allegorical and mythological writers.

We ſee then that the doctrines of the primitive perfection of nature, it's fall and it's reſtoration by a divine Hero, are equally manifeſt in the Mythologies of the Greeks, Egyptians, Perſians, Indians and Chineſe.

Let us now look into the Hebrew Mythology. By this I mean Rabbiniſm, or the philoſophy of the Jewiſh doctors, and particularly of the Eſſenes. Theſe philoſophers aſſerted, according to the teſtimony of Joſephus (d), 'that the literal ſenſe of the 'ſacred text was only an image of hidden truths. 'They changed, ſays Philo (e), the words and pre-'cepts of wiſdom into allegories, after the cuſtom 'of their anceſtors, who had left them ſeveral books 'for their inſtruction in this ſcience.' 'Twas the univerſal taſte of the Orientals to make uſe of corporeal images to repreſent the properties and operations of ſpirits.

This ſymbolical ſtyle ſeems in a great meaſure authorized by the ſacred writers. The Prophet Daniel repreſents God to us under the image of the ANTIENT OF DAYS. The Hebrew Mythologiſts and Cabaliſts, who were a ſucceſſion of the ſchool of the Eſſenes, took occaſion from thence to expreſs the divine attributes by the members of the body of the ANCIENT OF DAYS. We ſee this allegory carried to an extravagance in the books of the Rabbins. They ſpeak there of the dew that diſtilled from the brain of the ANTIENT OF DAYS, from his ſkull, his hair, his forehead, his eyes, and eſpecially from his wonderful beard. Theſe compariſons are undoubtedly ab-

(d) *Joſeph. de Bello Jud. lib. 2. cap. 12.*
(e) *Phil. de legis alleg. lib. 2. pag. 53.*

ſurd, and unbecoming the Majeſty of God: But the cabaliſtical philoſophers pretend to authorize them by ſome metaphyſical notions.

The creation, according to them, is a picture of the divine perfections: All created beings are conſequently images more or leſs perfect of the ſupreme Being, in proportion as they have more or leſs conformity with their original. Hence it follows that all creatures are in ſome reſpect like one another, and that man or the microcoſm has a reſemblance of the great world or macrocoſm; the material world, of the intelligible world: and the intelligible world, of the Archetype, which is God. Such are the principles upon which the allegorical expreſſions of the Cabaliſts are founded. If we ſtrip their Mythology of this myſterious language, we ſhall find in it ſublime notions very like thoſe we have before admired in the heathen philoſophers. I ſhall mention four, which are clearly enough expreſſed in the works of the Rabbin Irira, Moſchech and Jitzack, which Rittangelius has tranſlated in his Cabala denudata.

1. 'All ſpiritual ſubſtances, angels, human ſouls, 'and even the ſoul of the Meſſiah (a), were created 'from the beginning of the world: And conſe-'quently our firſt parent, of whom Moſes ſpeaks, 'repreſents not an individual perſon, but all mankind 'governed by one ſole Head. In that primitive 'ſtate every thing was glorious and perfect; there 'was nothing in the univerſe that ſuffered, becauſe 'there was no ſuch thing as crime. Nature was a 'real and a ſpotleſs image of the divine perfecti-'ons.' This anſwers to the reign of Ammon, Oromazes and Saturn. 2. '(b) The ſoul of the Meſ-'ſiah, by his perſeverance in the divine love, came

(a) *Viſion. Ezekiel, Mercav. Exp. apud Rittang. pag.* 225.
(b) *Pag.* 226.

'to

'to a ſtrict union with the pure Godhead (c), and 'was deſervedly advanced to be the King, the Head, 'and the Guide of all ſpirits.' This notion has ſome reſemblance of thoſe which the Perſians had of Mythras, the Egyptians of Oſiris and Orus, and the Greeks of Jupiter the Guide, who led ſouls into the ſuper-celeſtial abode. 3. (d) 'The virtue, 'perfection and beatitude of ſpirits or Zephirots (e), 'conſiſted in continually receiving and rendring 'back the rays which flowed from the infinite cen-'tre, that ſo there might be an eternal circulation 'of light and happineſs in all ſpirits. Two ſorts of 'Zephirots failed in the obſervance of this eternal 'law. The Cherubim, who were of a ſuperior 'order, did not render back this light, but kept it 'within themſelves, ſwelled, and became like veſ-'ſels that are too full; at laſt they burſt in pieces, 'and their ſphere was changed into a gloomy chaos. 'The Iſchim, who were of an inferior order, ſhut 'their eyes againſt this light, turning themſelves 'towards ſenſible objects (f); they forgat the ſupreme 'beatitude of their nature. and took up with the 'enjoyment of created pleaſures. They fell there-'by into mortal bodies. 4. (g) Souls paſs through 'ſeveral revolutions before they return to their 'primitive ſtate; but after the coming of the 'Meſſiah, all ſpirits will be reſtored to order, and 'to the happineſs which they enjoyed before the 'ſin of our firſt parent.' I ſhall now leave the reader to judge whether theſe four notions have not a great reſemblance of thoſe which we have found

(c) *The Helleniſtic Hebrews call this union of the Meſſiah with the Divinity, Hyper-azilutical, which ſignifies ſuper-ſubſtantial.*

(d) *Ibid. de revol. anim. part.* 1. *cap.* 1. *pag.* 224.

(e) *A general word which ſignifies ſpirits of all kinds.*

(f) *Phil. Cabal. diſſert.* 8. *cap.* 13. *pag.* 173. *Tom. III. Rittang.*

(g) *De revol. anim. pag.* 307.

in China, Perſia, Egypt and Greece, and whether I had not ſufficient authority to give the four mythological pictures which are in the foregoing work.

In all theſe ſyſtems we ſee that the ancient philoſophers, in order to refute the objections of the impious concerning the origin and duration of evil, adopted the doctrine of the præ-exiſtence of ſouls, and their final reſtoration. Several Fathers of the Church have maintained the firſt opinion, as the only philoſophical way of explaining original ſin; and Origen made uſe of the latter, to oppoſe the libertines of his time. It is far from my intention to defend theſe two opinions; all the uſe I would make of them is to ſhew, that reaſon alone furniſhes arguments ſufficient to confound ſuch philoſophers as refuſe to believe unleſs they can comprehend.

It is for this reaſon that I make Daniel ſpeak a different language from Eleazer. The Prophet adviſes Cyrus to lay aſide all refined ſpeculations, and to leave to God the care of juſtifying the incomprehenſible ſteps of his Providence; he plunges him again in an obſcurity more wholeſom and more ſuitable to human weakneſs, than all the conjectures of philoſophers; he reduces what we are to believe on this ſubject to theſe four principal truths.

1. God being infinitely good, cannot produce wicked and miſerable beings; and therefore the moral and phyſical evil, which we ſee in the univerſe, muſt come from the abuſe that men make of their liberty. 2. Human nature is fallen from the firſt purity in which it was created; and this mortal life is a ſtate of trial, in which ſouls are cured of their corruption, and merit a happy immortality by their virtue. 3. God united himſelf to human nature in order to expiate moral evil by his ſacrifice: The Meſſiah will come at laſt in his glory to deſtroy

ſtroy phyſical evil, and renew the face of the earth. 4. Theſe truths have been tranſmitted to us from age to age, from the time of the deluge till now, by an univerſal tradition; other nations have obſcured and altered this tradition by their fables; it has been preſerved in it's purity no where but in the Holy Scriptures, the authority of which cannot be diſputed with any ſhadow of reaſon.

It is a common notion that all the footſteps of natural and revealed religion which we ſee in the heathen poets and philoſophers, are originally owing to their having read the books of Moſes; but it is impoſſible to anſwer the objections which are made againſt this opinion. The Jews and their books were too long concealed in a corner of the earth, to be reaſonably thought the primitive light of the Gentiles: We muſt go farther back, even to the deluge. It is ſurpriſing that thoſe, who are convinced of the authority of the ſacred books, have not made advantage of this ſyſtem to prove the truth of the Moſaick hiſtory concerning the origin of the world, the univerſal deluge, and the re-peopling of the earth by Noah. It is hard to account for that uniformity of ſentiments which we find in the religions of all nations, otherwiſe than by the doctrine which I have put in the mouth of Daniel.

As the four great principles, which I have mentioned, are the foundation of our religion, my deſign was to do homage to it, by endeavouring to defend them againſt the vain cavils of audacious criticks and the ſuperſtitious prejudices of weak minds. One of the chief ſources of modern incredulity is the falſe notion which impious men have entertained of Chriſtianity. Nor indeed can we think it ſtrange, if, while the Chriſtian myſteries are repreſented in a wrong light, the principles of religion confounded with the abuſes of thoſe principles, and ſcholaſtick expoſitions with doctrines of faith, the miracles

ſhould paſs for impoſture, and the facts for fables. If we would engage thoſe, who in ſimplicity of heart ſeek after truth, to liſten to the proofs of revealed religion, we muſt begin by ſhewing them that it's doctrines are worthy of God; and this has been my aim throughout the foregoing work. Whether I have ſucceeded or not, my intention was upright; and I ſhall not repine at the imperfection of this attempt, if I may have given occaſion to any perſon of more learning and depth to recommend that philoſophy, which teaches never to employ the imagination but as the ſervant of reaſon, to direct all improvements of the underſtanding to the purification of the heart, and avoiding all oſtentatious parade of the ſciences, to make uſe of them only to diſcover the beauties of eternal truth to thoſe who are capable of being enamoured with them.

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LETTER

FROM

M. FRERET

(Member of the ACADEMY of INSCRIPTIONS at PARIS)

TO THE

AUTHOR,

Concerning the Chronology of his Work.

SIR,

THERE have perhaps been more different ſyſtems formed, to ſettle the hiſtory of Cyrus, and the chronology of the Kings of Babylon, than for any other part of ancient ſtory. But theſe hypotheſes are all ſo defective, and ſo ill connected with contemporary events, that we are ſtopped almoſt at every ſtep, by the contradictions and inconſiſtencies we meet with in them. This every man's experience ſhews him to be true, who reads the writings of Scaliger, Petau, Uſher, Marſham, the biſhop of Meaux and Prideaux.

But in your work you have wiſely avoided theſe difficulties, and have hit upon the beſt method of reconciling the contradictory accounts which Herodotus, Cteſias, Xenophon, and other ancient wri-

ters, give us of Cyrus. You have preſerved this Prince's war with his grandfather Aſtyages; a war which the ancients allow to be certain, and which Xenophon himſelf acknowledges in his retreat of the ten thouſand; he ſuppreſſed this fact in his Cyropædia, only to avoid throwing a blemiſh on Cyrus's character, by a war which he thought contrary to natural duty: Prideaux has likewiſe thought fit to ſuppreſs it. Marſham has invented a mere romance, and ſuppoſes, that there were two different kingdoms of the Medes, which were at the ſame time governed by two Aſtyages's, one the grandfather, and the other the enemy, of Cyrus. The method you have taken is more ſimple, and more agreeable to ancient ſtory; you have paved the way for this war, and conducted it in ſuch a manner, that it does in no wiſe ſtain the character of your hero.

The omiſſion of ſo conſiderable an event led Xenophon into two anachroniſms, in order to find employment for Cyrus in his younger years: This author antedates the taking of Sardis 25 years, and that of Babylon, 28. As this hiſtorian had nothing in view but military virtues and the qualities of a true patriot, whereby to form his hero, his ſcheme did not furniſh him with the ſame materials to fill up Cyrus's youth, as yours does. He had no thoughts of inſtilling into his mind ſuch principles as would moſt effectually ſecure him from the dangers which beſet the virtue of Princes, or of guarding him before hand againſt the corruption of falſe politicks and falſe philoſophy, which are, in their conſequences, equally fatal to ſociety. Xenophon, having been educated in Greece, was acquainted only with the kingdoms of Sparta and Macedon, whoſe Kings were, properly ſpeaking, nothing more than the chief perſons in their ſtate; and the magiſtrates were rather their collegues than their miniſters. He had no notion of the abuſes of deſpotic power,

power, and therefore could have no thoughts of preventing them. Whereas your design being to form a King, rather than a conqueror, a Prince better qualified to make his people happy under his goverment, than to force them to submit to his laws; you are thereby enabled to give Cyrus full employment in his youth by making him travel, and that very consistently with true chronology.

Cyrus died the 218th year of Nabonassar, and 530 years before the Christian Ægra, which I shall not lose time in proving, because acknowledged by all chronologers. This Prince was then 70 years of age, according to Dinon, the author of a celebrated history of Persia (a). He was therefore born in the 148th year of Nabonassar, 600, or 599 years before Christ. He had reigned, according to the astronomical canon, nine years at Babylon. This city was therefore taken in the 61st year of his age, the 209th of Nabonassar, and the 539th before Christ.

Sardis was taken, according to Soficrates in Diogenes Laertius (b), and according to Solinus (c), in the fourth year of the 58th Olympiad; but according to Eusebius, in the first year of that Olympiad; and consequently, either in the 545th or 548th year before Christ, and the 52d or 55th year of Cyrus's life. He reigned 30 years over the Medes and Persians, according to Herodotus and Ctesias, and he was 40 years old according to Dinon, when he mounted the throne; which fixes the beginning of his reign to the 188th year of Nabonassar, the first year of the 55th Olympiad, and the 560th year before Christ. (d) Eusebius tells us, that all chronologists agreed in placing the beginning of Cyrus's reign over the Medes and Persians in this year of the 55th Olympiad. But historians have neither told us how

(a) *Cic. de Divin. lib. 2.* (b) *Diog. Laer. lib. 1 Periand.*
(c) *Chap. viii.* (d) *Præpar. Evang. lib. x.*

many years Cyrus's war with the Medes lasted, nor any particulars of what happened in the first forty years of his life: you are therefore at full liberty to fill up this space with whatever you judge most proper to your design; and your chronology is not only agreeable to that of the Greeks and Persians, but likewise to that of the Babylonians.

Xenophon indeed has changed all this chronology: According to him Cyrus went to the court of Media at 12 years, stay'd there 4 years, returned in his 16th year; entered into the class of the Ἔφηβοι or Young-men in his 17th, and continued in it 10 years. To which he adds, that Astyages died in this interval, but this is not true; for that Prince reigned till he was conquer'd by Cyrus in the year 560, and did not die till some years after: You have therefore done well in not following Xenophon. According to him, Cyrus entered Media at the head of 30000 men when he was 28 years of age; subdued the Armenians at 29; marched against the Lydians, and took Sardis at 30; and made himself master of Babylon at 33, about the year 567. This is the 179th year of Nabonassar, and the 36th of Nabuchodonosor, who reigned 7 years after it; these 7 years added to the 21 years of the four Kings who reigned in Babylon after him, make the 28 years of the anachronism above-mentioned. The rest of Xenophon's chronology is of no importance to your work. He does not determine the time of the death either of Mandana, or Cambyses, and you are therefore entirely at liberty to place these events as will best suit with your plan.

The city of Tyre was not taken till the 19th year of Nabuchodonosor, after a thirteen years siege, which began the seventh of that Prince's reign, according to the Phœnician annals which Josephus had read. In the year Jerusalem was taken, which was the 18th year of Nabuchodonosor, the Prophet Ezekiel threatens Tyre with approaching ruin; it there-

therefore was not taken at that time; Cyrus was then 15 years of age: Now, as his travels are all placed between the 28th and 32d year of his age, and as he does not go to Tyre till after his travels in Greece, you are guilty of no anachroniſm in this particular; moreover, what you relate of the hiſtory of this city ſufficiently fills up the 15 or 16 years from the time of it's being conquered by the Babylonians.

We have no where any expreſs paſſage whereby to fix the time of Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs; that he was mad is certain from Daniel, and it is very probable it happened towards the end of his life; my reaſons for it are theſe. Jehoiachin was carried into captivity in the 8th year of Nabuchodonoſor's reign over Judea, and the 4th of his reign in Babylon; that is, the 148th year of Nabonaſſar, 600 years before Chriſt, and the year Cyrus was born. We are told in Jeremiah (e), and in the ſecond book of Kings (f), that in the 37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, Evilmerodach aſcended the throne of Babylon, took Jehoiachin out of priſon, admitted him to his own table, and heaped many honours upon him; this was the 184th year of Nabonaſſar, the 564th before Chriſt, and the 37th of Cyrus's age; at which time Nabuchodonoſor was yet alive, ſince he did not die till the 186th of Nabonaſſar, 562 years before Chriſt, and the 39th of Cyrus; Evilmerodach therefore did not only mount the throne in his father's life time, but he governed without conſulting him, and with ſo little dependance upon him, as not to fear provoking him by taking quite different meaſures from his, and heaping honours on a Prince, whom his father had all along kept in fetters. Beroſus makes the Prince, whom he calls Evilmerodach, to have reigned 10 years, the aſtronomical canon allows him but two, and calls him Ilovarodam; the Scripture places

(e) *Chap. lii. ver.* 31. (f) *Chap. xxv. ver.* 27.

him

him upon the throne three years before the death of his father.

All theſe difficulties will vaniſh if we ſuppoſe that Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs began eight years before his death, and that his ſon Evilmerodach was from that time looked upon as king, placed himſelf at the head of affairs, and governed the empire with his father's miniſters; theſe eight years, joined with the two he reigned alone after his father's death, make up the ten years of Beroſus; the holy ſcriptures begin his reign later, doubtleſs from the time that he removed the miniſters who made him uneaſy, which did not happen till the third year before the death of Nabuchodonoſor. This Prince's madneſs continued but ſeven years; after that time he recovered his ſenſes, re-aſſumed the government, and publiſhed an edict in favour of the Jews, which is related in Daniel: His name had all along been made uſe of in the public acts, and for this reaſon the aſtronomical canon makes his ſon Ilovarodam to have reigned but two years; this canon was drawn up from the public acts. Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs muſt have produced great revolutions in the court of Babylon, and we may form an idea of them from what paſſed in the court of France during that of Charles VI. when the management of affairs was one while lodged in the hands of the Queen, ſometimes in thoſe of his children, and at other times in thoſe of the great Lords and Princes of the blood. Upon this ſuppoſition, which is both eaſy and neceſſary, Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs will have happened in the 179th year of Nabonaſſar, the 569th before Chriſt, and the 32d of Cyrus's age; this Prince muſt have been informed of that event, for it was of great importance to him to know it; it is not to be doubted but it had it's influence in the war of the Medes and Perſians. The Kings of Babylon were allied to thoſe of the Medes; Nabuchodonoſor had married

married a daughter of Aſtyages; the Babylonians would have taken ſome part in this war, had it not been for the weakneſs of their government, occaſioned by the King's madneſs, and for the diviſions which prevailed at court among the different parties that contended for the direction of affairs. Nay, it is probable that Queen Amytis endeavoured to reconcile the Medes and Perſians; becauſe, independently of the tyes of blood, it was againſt her intereſt to have either of thoſe nations ſubdue the other. The ſight of ſo famous a conqueror reduced to ſo deplorable a condition, muſt have been a very proper ſpectacle for the inſtruction of Cyrus, and you had great reaſon not to neglect it. He returned from his travels, according to your chronology, about the 32d year of his age, after Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs had already ſeized him: Cyrus ſpent near ſeven years in Perſia, governing under his father; during which time all the intrigues between Cyaxares and Soranes were carried on, Cambyſes made war with the Medes, and Aſtyages died; after which Cyrus went to Babylon, to negotiate affairs with Amytis a little before Nabuchodonoſor's madneſs left him; this time was judiciouſly choſen to make the ſight more affecting and inſtructive.

Your chronology, with regard to political affairs, and the revolutions which happened in Cyrus's time, is therefore perfectly agreeable to that of the Greeks, Babylonians and Hebrews; let us now enquire, whether the great men whom you make Cyrus to have ſeen in his travels were his contemperaries; you may indeed be allowed a greater liberty in this caſe than in the former. You know how the ancients contradict one another with regard to the time when Zoroaſter lived; which doubtleſs proceeds from hence, that the name of Zoroaſter was given to all thoſe who, at different times, reformed the religion of the Magi. The laſt of theſe was the

moſt

moſt famous, and is the only one who is known by that name, or by the name of Zardouſcht in the Eaſt. Prideaux makes him contemporary with Cambyſes and Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, but it is very probable he lived ſome time before them. The Orientals, as may be ſeen in Dr. Hyde's work, make him to have lived under Guſtaſpes or Hyſtaſpes, the father of Darab, who is the firſt Darius according to the Greeks. This Guſtaſpes was older than Cyrus, and may have been the ſame perſon whom you make his Governor. Whence it neceſſarily follows, that the reformation of the religion of the Magi muſt have been made during his reign, and that Zoroaſter lived at that time. The reformation made by Darius ſuppoſes that the Magi had aſſumed to themſelves very great authority, which he took away from them. He likewiſe corrupted the purity of Zoroaſter's religion, by a mixture of foreign idolatry. In his reign the worſhip of Anaitis was firſt brought into Perſia, contrary to the hypotheſis of Dr. Prideaux. Your ſcheme is more agreeable to the courſe of the hiſtory, and to thoſe facts which are common to the Greek, Perſian and Arabian writers.

Cyrus may have married Caſſandana at 18 years of age, and have lived with her nine or ten years; ſo that he may have travelled into Egypt about the 29th year of his age. Your chronology agrees exactly with the age of Amaſis. All Chronologiſts concur in fixing the end of his reign to the year before Cambyſes's expedition, that is about the 525th year before Chriſt, and the 63d Olympiad. Herodotus makes his reign to have laſted 44 years; and conſequently places the beginning of it in the 569th year before Chriſt, and the 52d Olympiad, and about the 30th year of Cyrus. Diodorus indeed, who makes Amaſis to have reigned 55 years, ſuppoſes that he aſcended the throne in the 579th or 580th year before Chriſt, and the 20th year of Cyrus's age: But theſe two opinions are

are eaſily reconciled. Herodotus begins Amaſis's reign at the end of the revolution which placed him on the throne, and Diodorus at the beginning of his revolt.

Apries muſt have lived but a little time after the taking of Jeruſalem, ſince the Prophet Jeremiah (a) foretels his death under the name of Pharaoh Hophra, as what was ſoon to happen. Jeruſalem was taken in the year 589 before Chriſt, and the 63d before Amaſis's death, which ſhew that the troubles in Egypt were already begun. According to your ſyſtem Amaſis governed all Egypt in tranquillity when Cyrus went thither, and Apries had already been dead ſeveral years (b); which is agreeable both to profane and ſacred Hiſtory, Cyrus being between 28 and 30 years of age when he travelled.

The Greek chronology indeed will not be ſo eaſily reconciled to yours, but the anachroniſm will not exceed 12 or 14 years. Chilo was, according to Hermippus, as quoted by Diogenes Laertius (c), advanced in age at the time of the 52d Olympiad. This Olympiad began in the 573d year before Chriſt, and ended in the 570th Olympiad, which was the 30th of Cyrus. This was before his Ephorate, which Pamphyla places in the 56th Olympiad, but this paſſage is manifeſtly corrupted. The anonymous author of the chronology of the Olympiads fixes the time of the magiſtracy of Chilo to that of the Archonſhip of Euthydemes at Athens, that is, to the 81ſt year before Xerxes's paſſage into Aſia, according to the chronology (d) of the Arundelian marbles. This was the 561ſt year before Chriſt, and the 38th of Cyrus, which a-

(a) *Chap. xliv. the laſt verſe.*

(b) *In this' new edition the Author has taken the liberty to vary a little from this chronology. Apries is yet living when Cyrus goes into Egypt.*

(c) *Diog. Laert. lib.* 1.

(d) *Marm. Oxon. Chronol. Attic. Epoch.* 42.

grees

grees perfectly well with your chronology; for Cyrus might have seen Chilo eight years before, as he went to Sparta, and when he was thirty years of age.

Periander died, according to Soficrates (e), at the end of the 48th Olympiad, the 585th year before Chriſt, and the 16th of Cyrus. The ancients tell us he had reigned 40 years, and began to flouriſh about the 38th Olympiad. You poſtpone his death 12 or 14 years; but as you do this only to make Cyrus a witneſs of his deſperate death, the anachroniſm is a beauty, and is otherwiſe of little importance.

Piſiſtratus's reign over the Athenians did not begin till 560 years before Chriſt, 71 before the battle of Marathon, according to Thucydides (f), and 100 before the tyranny of the 400 at Athens. Cyrus was then 40 years old, ſo that your anachroniſm here is only of 9 or ten years. And with regard to Solon, you are guilty of no anachroniſm at all. His Archonſhip, and his reformation of the government of Athens, were in the year 597 before Chriſt, and the 3d year of the 46th Olympiad (g). He ſpent a conſiderable time in travelling, and did not return to Athens till he was advanced in years, which would not ſuffer him to be concerned in public affairs any more. He died at the age of 80 years, in the ſecond year of Piſiſtratus's reign, according to Phanias of Ereſa, and in the 41ſt year of Cyrus; who might therefore have converſed with him nine or ten years before.

You ought likewiſe to give yourſelf as little concern about the bringing Pythagoras and Cyrus together. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus tells us (h), that the former went into Italy about the 50th Olympiad, that is about the 577th year before Chriſt. He makes uſe

(e) *Diog. Laert. lib.* 1. (f) *Lib.* 6. *p.* 449, 452. *& lib.* 8. *p.* 601. *Ariſt. Pol. lib.* 6. *p.* 12. (g) *Diog. Laert. and Plut. life of Solon.* (h) *D. Hal. lib.* 12.

of

of the word κατὰ, (about) which shews that this date need not be strictly taken. And indeed Diogenes Laertius shews us, that he flourished about the 60th Olympiad, that is, about 40 years after; which if we understand of the time of his death, which was at the age of 80, he will then have been 50 years old when he went into Italy, and he will appear to have been born about the 520th year before Christ. If Pythagoras the Philosopher be the same with him who offered to fight at the Olympic games among the children, and upon being rejected desired to be received among the men, and gained the prize in the 48th Olympiad; he was 16 or 17 in the year 585 before Christ, and was scarce older than Cyrus. This is the opinion of Dr. Bentley, who is able to defend himself against all the objections which have been made to him. But without entring into this dispute, it is sufficient for your vindication, that Pythagoras was returned from his travels, and capable of conferring with Cyrus when this Prince went into Greece, in the year 565 before Christ; which cannot be denied in any of the different systems which the learned have formed concerning the time of Pythagoras's life.

You have likewise sufficient foundation for bringing him into a dispute with Anaximander. This Philosopher must have seen Pythagoras though he was older than he, being, according to Apollodorus in Diogenes Laertius, 64 years of age in the 2d year of the 48th Olympiad, that is, in the year 585 before Christ. And it is likewise a beauty in your work to see the young Pythagoras triumphing over the sophistry of the Materialist. It is not to be doubted but the Milesian Philosopher was the first inventor of the doctrine of the Atomists; as Aristotle (i), Cicero (k), Plutarch (l) and Simplicius (m) testify. The τὸ Ἄπειρον

(i) *Phys. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.
(k) *De Nat. Deor. lib.* 1.
(l) *Placit. Phil. lib.* 1. *c.* 3.
(m) *Comm. in Epict.*

of

of Anaximander was an infinite matter: His doctrine is the ſame with that of Spinoza.

You ſee, Sir, that complaiſance had no part in my approbation of the chronology of your book; you were not obliged to adhere ſo ſcrupulouſly to truth, you might have contented yourſelf with probability; the nature of your work did not require more: Nevertheleſs this exactneſs will, I am perſuaded, give it new beauties in the opinion of thoſe who are verſed in ancient hiſtory. Exactneſs is not incompatible with a fine imagination; and it degenerates into drineſs only when a writer is of a cold and heavy genius.

I am, &c.

FRERET.

The END.

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Vide the Works of the Learned, for Auguſt 1737. p. 82.